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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

EXTRACURRICULAR PARTICIPATION IN THREE URBAN HIGH SCHOOLS:  
SELECTED DETERMINANTS AND OUTCOMES

by



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A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled EXTRACURRICULAR PARTICIPATION IN THREE URBAN HIGH SCHOOLS: SELECTED DETERMINANTS AND OUTCOMES submitted by Thomas Joseph McGrath in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

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## ABSTRACT

This study examined three related questions concerning the extracurricular arena of activities of the school using a sample of 300 Grade IX and Grade XI males from three high schools of different socioeconomic composition in the Edmonton Separate School Board. In the first part of the research, the relationships of Individual and School SES and Participation in extracurricular activities were examined. The second section of the research explored the perceptions of students of different SES background, in the three schools, concerning how parents, teachers and the peer group reward both academic and extracurricular participation, as well as students' personal views concerning these activities. In the last section, the relationships of four independent variables: Individual SES, Grades (academic performance), Parental Encouragement, and School SES and the dependent variables of educational and occupational goals were investigated. Finally, the relationship between Participation in the extracurriculum and educational and occupational goals was tested, controlling the influence of Individual SES, Grades and Parental Encouragement.

In the analysis of data, the statistics gamma and chi square were employed to test associations at the ordinal level. Individual SES and Participation were found to be related in only one school, a school of heterogeneous SES composition. No relationship between School SES and Participation was found. Similarly perceptions of students did not differ across the three schools concerning reward structures of parents, teachers and the peer group, but the high SES students in the middle SES school were found to be more positively oriented toward extracurricular activities than were low SES students.



In general, parents, teachers and peers were all perceived as rewarding both academic and extracurricular involvement. No general anti-academic orientation among peer groups was identified. In the last part of the investigation, three independent variables, Individual SES, Grades and Parental Encouragement, were found to be related to educational and occupational goals, but no relationship between School SES and educational and occupational goals was identified, nor was Participation found to be related to educational and occupational goals, when Individual SES, Grades and Parental Encouragement were controlled.





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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

American studies in the late fifties and early sixties generally construed the extracurricular sphere of activity in the high school as the focal point of interest of an essentially irresponsible, non-intellectual and anti-academic youth culture. This youth culture was described as rewarding athletic prominence and popularity more highly than academic success, and in this sense, extracurricular participation was seen as destructive of academic initiative and achievement. Canadian work which investigated this characterization did not unanimously concur with American findings. More recently, research has developed which abandons this early characterization and emphasizes the social skills and success orientations which can be derived from involvement in this extracurricular arena, and findings have indicated that a student's participation in this dimension of the school's activity is closely related to the formation of later life educational goals. Again, investigation has been limited to the American socio-cultural context, and it is essential to test the relationship in the Canadian high school before generalizing cross-nationally.

An inherent limitation is evident in the research which has re-investigated extracurricular participation and peer group involvement as potentially supportive of the formation of high educational goals. These studies have ignored the relevant finding of previous research which has identified a relationship between the social class of the student and his participation in school extracurricular activities.





As well, no attention has been directed to controlling the contextual variable of school SES, a measure generally based on the aggregate SES composition of the student body, which has been found to have an influence on educational goals, independent of individual SES.

### THE PROBLEM

This study, then, attempts to explore the influence of the peer subculture in some depth, by approaching the question in terms of three aims, and by carrying on the investigation in three schools of different SES composition.

1. The first aim of the present research is to examine the determinants of social participation in the high school, by investigating the relationship of individual SES and participation in extracurricular activities in three schools of different SES composition.

2. The second part of the study explores the attitudes of students toward participation in the extracurriculum, and their views concerning the relative importance of academic and extracurricular activities in the status reward system of parents, teachers and peers. Canadian findings have produced mixed results in studies replicating the American finding of an athletic bias among American teenagers, and it is useful here, in view of the larger framework, to incorporate an examination of these questions. It will also be possible to determine whether or not the variable SES, at either the individual or contextual level, influences these perceptions.



3. The third aim of the present research is to test the empirical finding of the recent American studies that participation is independently related to the formation of later life plans, when the influence of better investigated variables has been controlled. At this point as well it is useful to build the contextual variable into the design. If the school SES is found to be related to the dependent variable of later life goals, the possibility can be tested that participation in extracurricular activities stands as an intervening variable in this relationship.

## ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The present Chapter is included to identify the major questions to be examined in this thesis, and to locate the study in the broad perspective of the field of sociology of education. Chapter Two deals with the review of the literature from which the aims of the study developed, as well as a statement of the problem to be investigated. Chapter Three presents a discussion of the research strategies employed in the investigation, and explains the instrumentation, data collection, operationalisation of terms, and techniques of analysis. In Chapters Four, Five and Six, the findings related to each research question are presented and discussed. In Chapter Seven, concluding remarks concerning the findings are made, and implications arising from the study are discussed.



## C H A P T E R   T W O

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A useful classification, in examining literature concerning the formation of educational and occupational goals of students, distinguishes between influences external to the school, personal and environmental influences, and internal, or contextual influences, emanating from the particular school situation. Examples of the former are SES, parental encouragement to continue education, and the like. Grading mechanisms, or the influence of the peer group, or school social class composition, are examples of the second. It is important to keep in mind that the relationship between the school and the society is a dynamic one, and that many variables clearly can reflect this dynamic element. Nonetheless, the distinction is useful in organizing materials in a broad review of the literature.

### THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE HIGH SCHOOL

An area of investigation of within school factors which can be seen to link the research interests in adolescent subcultures per se, and the study of educational and occupational plans, is that which has examined the extracurricular activities of the school. Early study of



the phenomenon was generally conducted in the larger theoretical framework of the 'youth culture', a concept largely based on discussions by Kingsley Davis and Talcott Parsons. Davis suggested that rapid industrialization was the source of value differences and differences in world view which made relations between parents and youth in contemporary industrial society particularly problematic.<sup>(1)</sup> Parsons discussed a distinctive pattern of behaviour of adolescents as unique to American society, and characterized this "youth culture" as specifically irresponsible, valuing athletic activity more highly than other pursuits, and given to rejecting interest in 'adult' things.<sup>(2)</sup> This stage was described as transitional, one step in the continuing socialization process, and not markedly disruptive of the general order.

The investigations of this phenomenon took on a new note of urgency with the demonstration by Russian scientists of what was widely interpreted to be superior sophistication in scientific space research. The pressing educational questions revolved around America's inability to develop the pool of talent which existed among her youth, and the entire educational institution underwent public scrutiny and self-examination. A study of major importance about this time was Coleman's The Adolescent Society.<sup>(3)</sup> In the study Coleman employed the conceptualization of the youth culture, which he termed 'the adolescent subculture' in an investigation of the attitudes and values of adolescents in ten different high schools in Illinois. The findings of the study provided little cause for optimism in terms of America's position in the space race.

Coleman documented the existence of a cohesive and pervasive adolescent subculture, which, as a result of changes in the structure of the family, and the extended duration of educational preparation, was thrown more and more upon its own resources. As this isolation





of youth continued, attitudes and values evolved which in large measure differed from those of the adult society. (4)

American society now has in its midst a set of small teenage subcultures which focus teenager interests on things far removed from adult responsibilities, subcultures which may develop standards that lead a child away from the goals toward which the schools are intended to lead. (5)

The suggestion that an anti-intellectual climate most notably characterized the adolescent subculture was based on findings that high status among peers accrued more to students skilled in athletics than to academically-oriented youth, and popularity and good looks were generally more highly valued than good grades. As well, students held the goal of 'nationally famous athletes' in higher esteem than 'atomic scientist'. (6)

Perceptive students were led to invest their energies in those activities which were most highly rewarded, extracurricular activities, and since the brightest students spent their time in non-academic pursuits, the less talented became the best academic performers. Coleman suggested that:

The implications for American society as a whole are clear. Because high schools allow adolescent societies to divert energies into athletics, social activities, and the like, they recruit into adult intellectual activities many people with a rather mediocre level of ability, and fail to attract many with high levels of ability. (7)

Coleman's report prompted a good deal of controversy, as well as further investigation, but the prevailing effect of the study seems to have been to characterize the adolescent subculture, and, in this context, the extracurricular dimension of school activities, as a drain-off of energy from more important concerns, and as destructive of academic initiative and achievement. (8)



Burton Clark agreed with Coleman, that the dominant adolescent orientation was anti-academic in character, but maintained that various subcultures coexisted within the adolescent society, some functional, other dysfunctional. <sup>(9)</sup> His typology of high school subcultures included three major groups: the 'fun' subculture, the 'academic' subculture and the 'delinquent' subculture. The fun subculture is that described by Coleman, whose main concerns are social and athletic, and anti-academic. While this last quality might be described as dysfunctional, several specifically positive functions are served by this group in terms of aims of the school administration. Administrative control is strengthened by the existence of legitimated outlets for adolescent energies, school spirit is strengthened by fun and games, and morale and discipline are enhanced. As well, public relations with local communities are ameliorated when the town can become enthusiastic about a school's athletic endeavours. <sup>(10)</sup>

A coexisting phenomenon is the academic subculture, made up of those students who are more positively oriented to academic matters. These students value hard work as well as popularity and friendliness. Clark suggests that as the connection between education and occupation tightens, the numerical strength of the academic subculture grows. <sup>(11)</sup> He identifies a third type, the delinquent subculture, made up of those students who see no connection between school and later life, and who rebel against both the formal aims of the school and its day to day regulations. <sup>(12)</sup> Lastly, there are those students who are distinguished only by their apathy and lack of participation in any subculture. <sup>(13)</sup> Clark's typology has enjoyed wide currency and has been influential in much work concerned with the study of high schools.



## CANADIAN STUDIES

Interestingly enough, the first study undertaken in Canada using the theoretical framework of the "youth culture" in studying a sample of Canadian students, had rejected the concept as 'mythical':

The data from Suburban Town ... suggest that the characterization of adolescent culture advanced in the sociological literature needs to be questioned. The empirical data do not deny that there are psychological tensions and distinctive interests among adolescents; however, the data do suggest -- at least among those middle-class groups studied -- that the current model of adolescent culture represents an erroneous conception. And, if so, the theories which employ such a culture to analyze the social structure, are without adequate foundation. (14)

Knill studied rates of participation in extracurricular activities in a sample of Saskatchewan high school students, as a measure of integration into adolescent social systems. (15) He found that students tended to become more involved with the peer group as they progress through the grade levels of the school, though participation dropped off in the twelfth grade, presumably because of exams. This indication of the growing involvement with peers was supported as well by responses to a measure of peer-parent orientation, "Which would be harder to take, parental disapproval, or breaking with a friend?". Differences in responses by age group showed a trend towards involvement with peers and away from the family as students matured.

Edmund Vaz measured the peer-parent orientation in a sample of 1600 middle-class males. (16) He found younger boys more peer-oriented in terms of the disapproval-breaking with a friend measure, but found that older boys were more likely to want to vacation with peers than with family. From these findings he concludes that younger students





are somewhat ambivalent about loyalties, but that peer group is more salient among the older grade levels. He also found, like Coleman, that for both age groups, academic interests were relegated to a low position after interest in girls, sports and cars.

Zentner and Parr undertook a replication of Coleman's study using a sample of students drawn from three Calgary high schools.<sup>(17)</sup> Their findings did not concur with those of the American study, in that members of the 'leading crowds', students with high social status among fellow students, were more likely to be found in the college preparatory courses, were more likely to have high grades, and did more homework, than other students. Members of these 'leading crowds' also tended to belong to fraternities, to be involved in sports, and reported a higher number of memberships in clubs and activities of the school. They conclude:

... The current findings do not tend to support certain conclusions proposed by Coleman about social status in the student social structure. Athletics for boys in this study is not as strongly associated with high social status as Coleman's evidence suggests. Furthermore, high academic performance has a very pervasive position in the student social structures, which tends to dispute Coleman's claim concerning the non-intellectual nature of the students' attitudes. (18)

In a similar investigation, using a sample of 10,000 Edmonton Public School Board Students, David Freisen tested the hypothesis, based on Coleman's findings, that Canadian students valued athletics, popularity and academic achievement, in that order.<sup>(19)</sup> The hypothesis was rejected. The findings most germane to this study, were that males in the sample, when asked which activities they found most rewarding in terms of within school life, reported academics, popularity and athletics, in that order. Academic achievement was chosen overwhelmingly by both sexes as being most important for the future.





Thus, Canadian studies were divided in their findings. Ultimately the evidence suggested that caution was needed in translating the results of American empirical studies too directly in discussing the attitudes and behaviour of Canadian youth regarding the school and its social structure.

### THE STUDY OF GOALS

The study of educational goals of high school students, their formation, and factors which enhance or depress their formulation, has been of central and continuing interest to sociologists studying education. The well-documented link between educational attainment and social and occupational mobility has given impetus to this investigation. Lipset and Bendix describe education as "the principal avenue for upward mobility in most industrialized nations" and suggest that a completed college degree is the only nearly certain guarantee of occupational mobility.<sup>(20)</sup> Eckland, in a sample of American university students, found that lower ability graduates landed higher status employment than high ability college dropouts.<sup>(21)</sup> Davis suggested that in view of the increasing professionalization of the American occupational structure, a son has to obtain more schooling than his father in order to achieve the same level of occupation, and that there is a declining "occupational return" for all educational attainment levels other than college graduation.<sup>(22)</sup>

Spady corroborated these findings.<sup>(23)</sup> Thus, an implicit or explicit premise underlying most research into the question of educational aspirations, expectations, or college plans, is that education is the 'sine qua non', without which there is little chance of occupational security in later life. Education is the key to mobility in a society stratified in terms of education and occupation. To state one's



educational aspirations is to state what Turner calls one's "class of destination".<sup>(24)</sup> That the Canadian situation parallels that found in American society has been amply demonstrated by John Porter in his definitive work on social class in Canada, The Vertical Mosaic.<sup>(25)</sup>

#### MAJOR INDEPENDENT DETERMINANTS OF ADOLESCENT GOALS

The literature which has examined societal determinants of individual aspirations, the influence of variables external to the school itself, is profuse, and covers the full range of standard sociological variables: age, sex, socio-economic status (SES), values, parents' education, family size, regional differences, etcetera.<sup>(26)</sup> Such investigations have discovered relationships so consistently that it has become essential to control the influence of such major determinants as age, sex, SES and parental encouragement if a research aims at making statements concerning the relationships of later life plans of adolescents and less well-investigated variables.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

An area of research which can be seen to bridge the distinction between external, environmental and within school influences, focuses on the independent or relative strength of influence of peers and parents on the formation of educational plans.



McDill and Coleman found that peer status was a more effective measure of a student's educational plans than was father's education.<sup>(27)</sup> Herriott found a high degree of congruence between the educational plans of a student and those of his best friend.<sup>(28)</sup> In disagreement with this evidence are studies by Haller and Butterworth and Turner which find little relation between peer interaction and educational aspirations or 'ambition' respectively.<sup>(29)</sup> Brittain tested students' agreement with parents or peers in a series of hypothetical problematic situations, and concludes that concerning questions perceived as difficult, including specifically, later life plans, adolescents turn to their parents for advice.

The general social orientation is of a dual character. Choices tend to derive meaning from either of two general reference groups or both: the peer society, in which many status and identity needs are gratified, and the larger society in which the status positions which one can aspire to as an adult are found. When choices pertain to the latter, parents are perceived as the more competent guides.<sup>(30)</sup>

Kandel and Lesser reject what they term "the hydraulic view" concerning the relative influence of adults and peers, "which assumes that the greater the influence of the one, the less the influence of the other".<sup>(31)</sup> Their research gave evidence of a high degree of concordance among the expectations of members of triads of mother, student and best friend about educational plans, though they concur with Brittain that parents are more influential in certain areas, including educational plans. Finally, those studies concerned exclusively with parental influence on aspirations have consistently isolated this variable as a major source of a student's college orientation.<sup>(32)</sup> Depending on one's research focus, then, results differ, but the general conclusion which emerges from these studies is that the expectations and encouragement of significant others, either parents, or peers, or both, can have a strong positive influence on the formation of college plans.





## EXTRACURRICULAR PARTICIPATION AS AN INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

Quite recently the extracurricular dimension of the school has been the object of renewed interest, in this instance, among investigators examining the goal formation process of high school students. In this literature, Coleman's characterization of the extracurriculum as serving an anti-academic interest is seriously challenged. In this new view, the theory is not well developed; in fact, various theoretical frameworks seem equally tenable. The essential conceptualization seems to be, though, that the extracurriculum provides an arena wherein a student can earn status among peers, experience success feelings, and achieve a higher degree of self-confidence, with the result that his general level of aspiration in terms of later life plans is enhanced. The findings have further suggested that those students who seem to profit more from social participation in the high school are those who are without factors known to support the formation of high educational and occupational aspirations - resources such as high SES family background, high grades and the like.

Schafer and Armer matched a sample of athletes and non-athletes in terms of SES, IQ, Grade Point Average and Program of Study, and found that athletes earned better grades, dropped out in fewer numbers, and had higher aspirations to college than those of their matches who did not participate in athletic activities.<sup>(33)</sup> A further finding was that the greater the degree of participation in sports, the greater was the spread between the athletes' present grades and those of their matches. Differences in aspirations were stronger for those in the lower categories of all four control variables, from which the authors infer that those who have fewer individual supports derive the greatest benefit from extracurricular involvement. A study by Rehberg and Schafer





arrived at essentially the same findings: athletic participation was strongly associated with educational expectations, particularly among students with low parental encouragement and low academic performance.<sup>(34)</sup> In a longitudinal study of attitudes, values, and college achievement, Snyder included athletic, social and student government and service-oriented activities in a general measure of social participation, and found this measure to be positively associated with university achievement as well as with percentile rank in the high school graduating class.<sup>(35)</sup> Differences in aspirations were again reported to be larger between lower class participants and non-participants than between students from white collar families. Spady, in an analysis of longitudinal data on a sample of three hundred California males, found that participation in extracurricular activities and perceived peer status were positively related to both educational goals and educational attainment, except in the cases of those who participated only in athletics.<sup>(36)</sup> Those who were active in service and leadership roles had the highest aspirations as well as the greatest success in fulfilling these aspirations. The 'athletics-only' tended to have high aspirations, but drop out of University after the first year or two. Spady re-examines the data in a second article, controlling SES, IQ, Grade Performance and Perceived Peer Status. He concludes,

The formal and informal achievement systems of the high school have a major bearing on the student's desire for further education, which cannot be traced to his achievement motivation alone. Furthermore, the nature of the student's participation in these systems also has a strong influence on his chances of realizing his aspirations.<sup>(37)</sup>

A study related to this theme is reported by Ellis. He classifies a sample of college students in terms of the Clark-Trow typology, extending the typology to include "collegiate-scholars".<sup>(38)</sup> These are students who bridge two subcultures, in being seriously committed to academic pursuits as well as active in the social and extracurricular arenas



of campus life, and who have generally high status career goals. The relevant finding in this context is that this group reported markedly higher degrees of involvement in extracurricular activities in their high school careers.

While the factors of family background and intellectual ability provide important resources upon which the student may draw, it is through their peer-related experiences in high school that their behaviour patterns for the future seemingly are shaped and emerge ... collegiate scholars stand out in having held major class and student body officerships and having received such general honours as being "student of the year". In both areas (academic and extracurricular) the recognition they have received far exceeds that gained by any other group of the study. (39)

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

#### JUSTIFICATION FOR THE EXAMINATION OF EXTRACURRICULAR PARTICIPATION AS AN INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

The empirical evidence concerning participation in school activities in relation to educational goals seems promising, but the assumptions underlying such investigation seem to conflict with the arguments of those who operate from the "subculture" or "contraculture" perspective.



The disagreement centres around the question of the functions, manifest and latent, of an extracurricular structure in a high school. The question is: What are the effects, positive and negative, of participation in extracurricular activities, and by whom are such activities rewarded? Some characterize such activity as productive, in the end, of a positive orientation toward educational and occupational goals, others see participation as destructive of academic initiative. Some suggest that such involvement is a vital developmental stage, others that it is diversion which is divisive of generational harmony. There is merit in investigating empirical findings only if such findings can be demonstrated to be theoretically tenable. In view of these contradictory characterizations then, a theoretical framework which lends support to the investigation of the positive influence of extracurricular participation is essential.

This problem seems best dealt with in terms of the developmental tasks of adolescence, and, more specifically, in terms of the socio-psychological benefits which can accrue from certain types of activities in which adolescent energies are invested. One must refrain from making the criticism that the "contraculture" theorists harbor a naive hope of a higher degree of equilibrium with regard to adolescence and the high school, than is likely to be found in the empirical situation. In both the sociological and psychological literature, adolescence is described as a developmental period during which there is a gradual shifting away from the nuclear family and a growing involvement with peers. This development is seen as a healthy one, if fraught with a certain amount of anxiety and conflict.<sup>(40)</sup> The importance of such a shift is underscored in a study by Demerath of twenty schizophrenic youths.<sup>(41)</sup> The suggestion made is that in order to successfully adjust to the demands of adulthood, a youth must first prepare himself in informal peer group life. Inability to associate with fellow students, feelings of social rejection and non-participation in group activities, were among the experiences described in the student careers of the people in the sample.





One way to describe the potential sources of conflict in the high school is to use the language of Kemper's reference-group theory of achievement, a theory concerned with microanalytic, socio-psychological basis of achievement.<sup>(42)</sup> Kemper suggests that achievement behaviour can ensue from the simultaneous availability of three reference groups: a normative group, a comparison group and an audience group. The normative group provides the rules of the game, the norms and values which explicate the boundaries of conformity-deviance. These norms and values are supported by negative sanctions only. The comparison group does not sanction, but acts as a role model, and demonstrates how a task is done or a role enacted. The audience group rewards successful performance of a role, or, within the terms of the theory, rewards performance which is better than routine, and thus provides the impetus to achieve, once appropriate behaviour is known and learned. Kemper suggests that all three reference groups can be located in the same persons or groups, such as parents.

This framework can be further complicated when applied specifically to the adolescent in the high school. In effect, rules of behaviour are being communicated by at least two groups, the adults (in the person of parents, teachers and school administrators) and peers. Both sanction negatively to elicit conforming behaviour. As well, both groups can be seen to act as audience group, as sources of reward for the adolescent. In these terms, the disagreement in the literature has centred around the norms and reward structures of the two reference groups, and the extent to which these are mutually exclusive, or contradictory. Coleman would suggest that the norms of adults and peers are antithetical in the area of intellectual endeavour, and that perceptive students choose the peer group as audience rather than the adult group.





The either/or characterization may not be adequate to its subject. Simpson, for one, suggests that a both/and conceptualization might be truer to the existing social situation.<sup>(43)</sup> It is his position that the peer group meets particularly important needs of the adolescent in development, which the formal curriculum of the school cannot fulfill, in the form of social skills and recognition for achievements valued by age-mates. In participating in the extracurricular activities of the school, the student can perform to meet the expectations of both significant others.

Through its extracurricular activities program, the school can encourage pupils to work willingly, in natural and intimate groups, toward goals which they themselves value highly, and in ways which develop such qualities as responsibility and the capacity to make vital decisions ... In the extracurricular program, benefits of the peer group and the school are combined. A balance is struck between free initiative and guidance from above, between play and work, between individual achievement and group obligation.<sup>(44)</sup>

Again, phrased in Kemper's terminology, if parents and peers are perceived simultaneously as both normative and audience groups, then the extracurriculum is that arena of activity wherein the student can harmonize the norms of both, and win the approval of both. Role models are available in this arena as well; thus the prerequisites of achievement and its concomitant rewards are available within the school in this extracurricular structure. The answers to whether or not this characterization is valid, or more valid than another, or whether there is disagreement in norms and reward structures in other areas, i.e. the curriculum, will emerge only from empirical investigation.

Literature which explores the phenomenon of voluntary associations in the larger society, would seem to support the characterization of the extracurriculum as a potential source of positive socio-psychological rewards, and the hypothesis that participation can influence the development of high career goals becomes tenable in this theoretical framework.



Gist and Fava suggest that voluntary association serves many individual needs, including providing a sense of security, providing a link between the individual and his society which facilitates adjustment to the social milieu, and the conferring of status and power.<sup>(45)</sup> Rose enumerates two generalized functions served by voluntary associations, self-expression and satisfaction of interests through collective action.<sup>(46)</sup> Westby-Gibson sees voluntary associations as supplements to basic institutions, and states that, among adolescents, the extracurricular activities of the school, in the form of academic clubs, hobby clubs, athletic clubs and student government, offer the greatest possibility of engaging in such supplementary activities. Such participation serves an essential developmental function in her view.<sup>(47)</sup>

As the child participates in organized groups, he broadens the scope of his social learning. His new experiences contribute new meanings to his ascribed status of age, sex and social background. He also has new opportunities to learn appropriate role behaviours and to develop attitudes and values. (48)

Spady points to this same generalized function, as the assumption on which an exploration of the empirical relationship must rest.

... inquiry into this subject would seem justified, however, only on the assumption that the extracurriculum of the school is a vehicle for interpersonal competition and status acquisition as well as a diversion from the more serious nature of the academic work. To the extent that students must compete for recognition and honours both inside and outside classroom, the extracurricular activities ... of the school foster achievement and success orientations as well as opportunities for socializing and fun. (49)



## EXTRACURRICULAR PARTICIPATION: POTENTIAL DETERMINANTS

If these statements can be taken to suggest that there is theoretical legitimacy in employing participation as an independent variable in the study of educational aspiration, other evidence in the literature suggests that enthusiasm about the potential explanatory power of the variable needs to be tempered somewhat. Rates of participation in voluntary associations have been found to vary in terms of several variables, age, sex, marital status, race and religion, but there seems to be almost unanimous agreement that social class is the major independent influence associated with the variable.<sup>(50)</sup> Kahl, Rose, and Gist and Fava concur that the middle and upper classes in the United States dominate voluntary associations, and that working class people do not participate to the same extent.<sup>(51)</sup>

All available studies point consistently to the tendency for people having higher incomes and holding high status occupations to participate more extensively in formal associations than individuals of lower socio-economic levels ... formal group participation is predominantly a middle and upper class phenomenon. <sup>(52)</sup>

This phenomenon seems to find its parallel in the American high school. Hollingshead found that adolescent behaviour was significantly related to social class in every major phase of social behaviour, including recreation, clique formation and dating.<sup>(53)</sup> Herriott comments that participation in extracurricular activities, election to student offices and membership in high ranking peer group cliques are regularly found to be related to the social class of the individual.<sup>(54)</sup> This was a central finding in a national study undertaken by the Survey Research Centre, University of Michigan, as reported by Westby-Gibson.





Probably the most significant factor, however, is that club membership in many schools is directly related to social class status. In the national surveys of students aged eleven to eighteen, the higher the youth's social status, the likelier he was to belong to a school-sponsored club.(55)

This documented finding concerning the relation of SES and participation is of central importance in examining the effects of such participation. The present studies are limited, then, to the extent that the focus has been on the consequences of participation, and potentially important specifying conditions have been ignored. A fuller understanding of the subject of social participation requires that we look both at its determinants and its consequences for later life.

#### SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF THE SCHOOL: THE CONTEXTUAL VARIABLE

Another area of investigation seems well integrated to these themes. It has been widely claimed in the literature that the social class composition of the school is closely related to the formation of educational and occupational goals of students. Wilson established a 'dominant social class' criterion for ten high schools, and found that lower class boys in 'middle-class' schools tend to have higher aspirations than lower class boys in 'lower-class' schools, and vice versa.<sup>(56)</sup> John Meyer took two measures of high school effect, the social class status of the school, based on the aggregate composition of the student body in terms of individual SES, and a measure of the quality of the school (organizational resources). Holding individual SES and IQ constant, he found the social class status of the school to be related to the general level of aspirations of students in the school.<sup>(57)</sup>





Both Michael and Sewell arrived at substantially the same findings: holding individual SES constant, they found that students in predominantly middle class schools have higher educational aspirations than comparable students in schools with predominantly working class student populations.<sup>(58)</sup> Boyle synthesized the findings of the four studies, by Rogoff, Turner, Coleman and Wilson in preparing the framework for a study using information from seventy Canadian high schools.<sup>(59)</sup> He concluded that, with individual family background and scholastic ability controlled, the dominant social class composition of the high school has an important influence on the aspirations of students, but this effect is much stronger in larger cities than in smaller communities. Controlling student ability, the relationship is reduced, but not erased. Thus more effective educational standards and practices of metropolitan schools seem to develop higher ability among students, which in turn partly explains their having higher aspirations. Although the study did not provide adequate data to explain the remaining school effect, Boyle suggests that the development of different peer subcultures, which influence attitudes and values, and thus plans for or against college, might be usefully investigated.

Various studies have investigated the question of how this school SES effect is expressed in terms of the aspirations of the individual student, that is, they have attempted to explain the intervening process by which the structural property, school SES, is linked to the individual effect of high aspiration. Campbell and Alexander found that strong relationship between school SES and Educational Aspirations was erased when they controlled for friendship with middle class students.<sup>(60)</sup> Simpson also suggests that anticipatory socialization by middle class peers can account for high aspirations among working class students.<sup>(61)</sup> The inference which can be drawn from these various studies seems to be that the activities and attitudes of the peer subculture as they develop in schools of different SES composition are worthy of examination in the study of within-school contextual effects. In view of the fact that participation in the extracurriculum is a fundamental part of the



subcultural life of the school, the interest in school SES contexts can be seen to be closely linked to questions just discussed.

## EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL GOALS

One final matter is worthy of mention in this review of the literature, and that is that some complexity has developed in the operationalizations of the dependent variables of educational and occupational goals. Rehberg distinguishes between the idealistic and the realistic, or aspirations and expectations.<sup>(62)</sup> A question on aspirations, in his view, measures the students' desire to get ahead, the "success theme" of Merton. A question on expectations provides for a restatement of this goal in view of practical considerations, financial, intellectual, etcetera, which might impede a student in the fulfillment of his desire. In the conclusion to an analysis of data from four studies, Rehberg states that both aspirations and expectations are "differentially distributed" along class lines - both vary directly with the social class of the respondent.<sup>(63)</sup> These distinctions will be referred to frequently in the following chapters.\*

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\* The specific operationalization of the dependent variables used here employs Rehberg's distinction. In this regard, terms such as plans, later life plans, goals, educational and occupational goals, are used throughout the thesis as synonyms for the dependent variable of educational aspirations, educational expectations, occupational aspirations and occupational expectations.



## PROBLEM TO BE INVESTIGATED

The study of goal formation among high school students, and factors which affect the distribution of educational opportunity are of pressing importance for Canadian society, as Porter has demonstrated.<sup>(66)</sup> But the tendency to accept the validity of findings of American studies cross-nationally should be discouraged, in the absence of Canadian replication. In this specific instance, the fact that Canadian studies have shown that Coleman's hypothesis, although it is of some theoretical value, is not unanimously borne out in empirical findings, underscores the importance of examining the more recently reported relationship between Participation in the extracurriculum and later life goals using a sample of Canadian students, before ascribing generalizability to these findings. Only by following a comparative approach of this sort can we overcome the parochial nature of social scientific knowledge which is based on the data from only one sociocultural context. Further, in undertaking such a re-investigation, the opportunity is presented to extend and intensify the study, by examining both determinants and consequences of social participation, the attitudes held by students concerning such involvement, and the development of patterns of participation in different school SES contexts.

The purposes of this study, then, can be classified into three sections. The first aim of this study was to determine to what extent personal variables, external to the school, are influential in determining subcultural patterns in the high school, by testing the relationship of SES and Participation in extracurricular activities in a sample of Canadian high school students. In this section, by examining the data for three schools of different SES composition, the relationship could be studied as well at the contextual level.





A second aim, directly related to those just discussed, concerned the attitudes formulated and rewards derived by students who participate in the extracurricular arena of school activities. The suggestion is found in the literature that activities in the school, academic and extracurricular, are rewarded differently by the adult society, in the persons of parents and teachers, and by fellow students, who make up the peer subculture. By extending the scope of this study it was possible to test the validity of this hypothesis, as well as to collect information as to which activities students themselves perceived as rewarding and to determine to what extent individual SES and school SES influence the formation of such perceptions and personal attitudes.

A third major aim involved the testing of some quite familiar empirical relationships reported in the literature, with the view to controlling these influences, if they were found to be operating, in the testing of the American finding concerning the relationship of participation in extracurricular activities and the formation of later life plans. In encompassing this aim, the study hoped to provide the first information concerning the impact of social participation of high school students on the formation of educational and occupational goals, collected from a sample of Canadian students.

Taken together, these aims constitute an intensive exploration of the extracurricular dimension of high school life in three schools of different SES composition: the activities it involves, the determinants of participation in this arena, the attitudes of various groups who have an interest in the educative process towards the extracurriculum, its relation to the academic structure in the minds of students, and the consequences of such participation for the students themselves in the long run, in terms of educational and occupational goals.





## HYPOTHESES

Selltiz classifies research designs into three types: formulative or exploratory studies, descriptive studies and studies testing causal hypotheses.<sup>(67)</sup> The first type aims at familiarizing a researcher with a problem, with the hope of formulating a research problem more precisely the next time out. Descriptive studies have as their goal either the accurate description of the characteristics of individuals or groups, or the determination of frequencies of association of events. The testing of causal hypotheses, the most sophisticated level of investigation, is often conducted experimentally, or at least with maximum attention given to control and direction of influence of variables. The first type of study is rarely stated in terms of hypotheses, the second usually incorporates specific preliminary hypotheses into the design, and the third is always formulated in terms of precise hypotheses. If one follows the recommendation of Selltiz and classifies a study by its major function, the present research is best described as exploratory, but since several aspects of the study are descriptive, it numbers among the majority in serving two functions.<sup>(68)</sup> This research, then, is descriptive inasmuch as precise hypotheses can be formulated from the literature concerning the relation of the social class of the student, at the individual level, and his rate of participation in extracurricular activities, and the relation of participation and college plans, relevant variables controlled, at the individual level. These relations have not been tested specifically in the Canadian context. In venturing to the contextual level, and examining influences on participation which operate at the level of the school, the study becomes exploratory. Inasmuch as the variable 'participation' seems not to have been operationalised twice in precisely the same way, the study is again cast into the exploratory realm. The hypotheses which follow, therefore, are formulated in order



to give direction rather than methodological precision to the investigation. For this reason, null hypotheses are not employed. Hypotheses act essentially as directives or guidelines in the collection and analysis of data.

Hypotheses which can be stated relating to the first aims of the study are two:

- H I: The degree/extent/amount of student participation in the extracurricular activities of the school, will be positively associated with individual SES.
- H II: There will be a positive association between the percentage of students who participate in the extracurriculum of a high school, and the dominant SES composition of the high school, holding constant individual SES.

As well, data will be analysed concerning types of participation, rates of participation, office holding and award winning in relation to individual SES, and an analysis will be undertaken to see whether or not a school SES effect operates on these variables.

The formulation of hypotheses offers no added clarity when the second series of aims of this study are considered. The attempt here, broadly stated, is to explore the attitudes of students toward activities at school: their perceptions concerning how parents, teachers and fellow students reward involvement in the two spheres of school activity, academic and extracurricular, and how they as individual students experience rewards from involvement in both areas. At this point, the research can also examine whether or not there are differences among students in respect of these perceptions, in terms of individual SES, or whether the SES of the school influences the development of different subcultural attitudes



or reward structures. Such an investigation will, hopefully, provide necessary information for a more precise testing of the relationship of socioeconomic status and participation in extracurricular activities.

Proceeding to the third area of interest, later life plans, it will be possible initially to verify some of the empirical relationships reported in the literature. These aims are usefully stated in terms of directive hypotheses.

H III: The higher the individual SES of the student, the higher will be his educational and occupational goals.

H IV : Controlling individual SES, the higher the SES composition of the high school, the higher will be the educational and occupational goals of its students.

H V : The higher the academic performance (grades) of a student, the higher will be his educational and occupational goals.

H VI : The higher the degree of parental encouragement a student receives to further his education beyond high school, the higher will be his educational and occupational goals.

Then, an attempt will be made to test the relation of participation and later life plans.

H VIII: There will be a positive association between participation in extracurricular activities and educational and occupational plans, holding constant SES, grades and parental encouragement.





Finally, if the findings warrant it, an investigation will be modelled after that of Campbell and Alexander, who tested friendship with middle class students as the intervening variable between school SES and educational aspirations.<sup>(69)</sup> Here, participation will be tested as the factor which mediates the structural effect. If a school effect on aspiration levels, and a school effect on participation rate, can be found to exist, as well as a relation between participation and aspirations, then one can proceed to determine if participation is the intervening variable between school status and educational aspirations.

#### SUMMARY

The research of the high school examined in this review can be roughly classified into two parts: those studies concerned with describing adolescent subcultures per se, the attitudes and values of teenage groups in high schools, and research examining external and internal influences on the formation of goals for later life among high school students. One phenomenon which has been investigated in both types of studies is the extracurriculum of the high school.

Early studies tended to characterize the extracurricular arena as the domain of the peer subculture, and described involvement in such activities as destructive of academic initiative. The characterization is questioned in recent literature which reports that extracurricular participation is closely related to the formation of high educational goals.





Such findings are of potential importance in the study of aspirations, which is linked to the larger question of equality of educational opportunity. Standard sociological variables such as SES, family level of education, parental encouragement etcetera, have been well investigated in this field, and research must continually be directed at expanding the general scope of the investigation. The growing interest in the influence of contextual effects is one possible direction in which the study can expand. The successful identification of individual supports in forming high educational goals is another potentially fruitful direction for investigation. Thus, if a positive influence, emanating from the activities of the peer group can be consistently identified in replicative studies, the finding will be of importance for sociological theory, perhaps at both the individual and contextual levels, as well as of immediate importance for the institution of education. At the same time, it is essential that such reinvestigations be conducted in both the American and Canadian sociocultural settings, as the tendency for Canadian sociology to grant validity to American findings has proved erroneous in the past.

The present study is undertaken to fulfill this need. This research explores the relationship between participation in the school's extra-curriculum and the formation of educational and occupational goals of Canadian high school students. At the same time, the scope of the study is expanded to include an examination of some determinants, external and internal, of such social participation, as well as an exploration of the attitudes of students towards participation, their views concerning the relation of extracurricular and academic activities, and their perceptions concerning how parents, teachers and their fellow students reward participation in both spheres.



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## C H A P T E R     T H R E E

### RESEARCH STRATEGIES

#### QUESTIONNAIRE CONSTRUCTION AND ADMINISTRATION

The present study was conducted in the form of a survey using data collected from a sample of 300 male students, enrolled in the Grades IX and XI of three Roman Catholic secondary schools in the Edmonton Separate School System.

A fourteen page questionnaire was constructed to provide information on all variables specified by the research design. (The final questionnaire is included here as Appendix A). These variables include father's and mother's education and occupation, district lived in and duration of residence, measures of parental encouragement, and encouragement from other sources: brothers and sisters, other relatives, teachers, guidance counsellors, principals, friends in and out of school. The dependent variables measured were educational and occupational aspirations and expectations. Information on grades was collected from student records, in the case of Grade XI, progress reports, for Grade IX, grades in the recently completed provincial tests. Prior to the administration of the questionnaire, the extracurricular offerings of each school were catalogued through interviews with principals and guidance counsellors and a list of these activities, specific to each school, was included in each questionnaire so as to collect sound data on this variable. Finally, students were asked to respond to twenty-four questions designed to elicit information concerning perceived reward structures for extracurricular as well as academic involvement vis-a-vis parents, teachers, other students and the student himself.





The questionnaire was presented to twenty Grade X boys in the low SES school by way of pretest, and modifications were introduced on the basis of criticisms raised by these students and pretest responses, preliminary to the preparation of the final copy. The researcher personally conducted the administration of the questionnaire in all schools, and most students filled out the questionnaire in twenty-five to thirty minutes. Although not all students replied to all questions, on the whole the information collected was quite complete.

### SAMPLING

The sample included Grade IX and XI boys in three schools, classified as of high, mixed and low SES composition.

The research questions specified the need for a purposive sample which would include schools of different social class composition. Three schools were made available by the Edmonton Separate School Board, and these were classified, on the basis of the aggregated individual SES measure, as well as a measure external to the sample, as High, Middle and Low on this dimension. Census data of 1961 proved to be not very useful in verifying the selection made by the E.S.S.B., in that two schools in the sample are located in, and draw students from, districts which have grown up in the last ten years. A more up-to-date external measure was sought, and figures were provided by the Edmonton Real Estate Board Cooperative Listing Bureau, which specified the average sale value of houses in the districts surrounding each school, and these figures are congruent with the school SES classification. This information is presented in Table 1.



TABLE ONE -A

Measures, external to the sample, of the SES of the districts in which schools in the sample are located.

<u>School SES</u>	<u>Income by Census '61</u>	<u>Dwellings sold in '70</u>	<u>Average sale price</u>
High	\$4280.	181	34,102
Medium	\$4475.	246	22,150
Low	\$4046.	92	16,842

TABLE ONE -B

Sales by Price Range for Districts in which schools are located (1970)

<u>\$1000's</u>	<u>High SES School</u>	<u>Medium SES school</u>	<u>Low SES school</u>
-10	-	16	7
10-15	3	39	30
15-20	7	39	34-mode
20-25	24	67-mode	19
25-30	49	56	-
30-40	60-mode	23	2
40-50	25	6	-
50-75	11	-	-
75+	2	-	-



A second sampling decision involved a choice of Grade level. Though studies concerned with aspirations often examine responses of Grade XII students, several factors, both practical and methodological, precluded following this pattern in the present study. The practical consideration was that school boards are reluctant to infringe upon the time of Grade XII pupils and their teachers, inasmuch as important examinations must be written at year's end by this Grade level. Also, the interest in participation as a central variable in the study made it seem unwise to question Grade XII students, as pre-established patterns of participation are probably modified in the last year because of impending examinations. <sup>(1)</sup> Extracurricular participation might be curtailed in the last year. On the other hand, Grade XI students can be expected to have established patterns of participation, and to be under less academic pressure than their seniors. As well, statements made by this grade level concerning plans might be expected to be fairly well formulated, or, in Ginzberg's terms, to fall closer to the realistic than tentative. In this sense, then, practical limitations are not critical to the study.

As well, it was decided to include Grade IX males in the sample, in the two schools of three which housed this grade-level in the same unit with Grades XI. This decision makes possible the examination of patterns of participation for a larger segment of the student body. At this level students stand at the top of the first tier, and can be expected to participate with confidence, unlike students new to the high school environment. Also, the dropout rate at this level is low, thus the social class composition of the group is not so biased by this phenomenon. Although aspirations might be expected to be less 'realistic' at this grade level, the information is valuable in that it is at this point that later life aspirations are being formed. Students in ninth year generally have reached the age at which by law they are no longer compelled to remain in the educational institution, and this fact as



well lends authority to their statements concerning later life plans.

All Grade IX and XI male students of the three schools who were present on the days of testing were included in the sample. Only two of the three schools included Grade IX students, but conveniently, these were the schools on either end of the school SES continuum, and important comparisons could still be made. After three questionnaires were rejected as unusable, the sample numbered 302 students. The breakdown of the sample, by individual SES, grade level and school, is presented in Table 2, at the end of this Chapter.

## OPERATIONALISING THE VARIABLES

### SES

Responses concerning father's occupation were rank ordered using Blishen's Socio-Economic Index for Occupations as a guide.<sup>(2)</sup> The deciles available in the Index were used as cutting points, and this resulted in a six level rank order. In order to more meaningfully dichotomize the variable, responses which fell into category 4 were further divided into 'owners and managers' and 'others'. The dichotomy seems more defensible than a trichotomy.

### Academic Performance

Measures of the variable "grades" were obtained directly from student records made available by the principals of the schools studied. Decisions concerning the rank ordering of the measures were based on information supplied by the Edmonton Separate School Board and the Registrar's Office





at the University of Alberta. Grade IX students' performance scores are measured in terms of stanines. The School Board suggested that a 4 or less is considered a failure and disqualifies the student from choosing certain subject options. A 5 or 6 is thought to indicate average performance. Students with 7's, 8's or 9's are considered top performers, and are free to choose any subject option available. Grade XI students are ranked on a percentage scale. Sources at the School Board suggested that 40% or less is taken as outright failure, below 50% is weak, 50-60% is average performance, and marks above 60% are considered from good to top performance. The University of Alberta admissions office demands a 60% for acceptance to college programs, 65% in some faculties, and expects a student to have maintained at least five on the stanine scale. On the basis of this information, the variable 'grades' or academic performance was coded into six categories, and could be meaningfully dichotomized or trichotomized. The code is more succinctly presented in tabular form.

#### GRADES

Percentages (11th year)	Stanines (9th year)
1. 76 - 100	8.0 - 9.
2. 66 - 75	7.0 - 7.9
3. 60 - 65	5.1 - 6.9
4. 50 - 59	4.1 - 5.0
5. 46 - 49	3.1 - 4.0
6. - 45	- 3.0



## Encouragement

Responses concerning sources of and degree of encouragement to continue education were elicited using various measures taken from previous work. Rehberg adds scores on separate questions concerning father's and mother's encouragement to get an index of encouragement.<sup>(3)</sup> This procedure was followed here by adding scores on questions #10 and #11. Spady in his questionnaire offers a choice of six possible responses to the question, "How many years of schooling do your parents want you to have?". This measure was included in this study as question #15.<sup>(4)</sup> As well, a question concerning various sources of encouragement, taken from Rehberg, was included as question #16.

## Participation in the Extracurriculum

The task of operationalising the dependent variable of participation was made problematic by the absence of recent guidelines in the literature. Chapin's Social Participation Scale has been modified by Snyder for this purpose, but the mechanics of this modification are not included in his report of findings.<sup>(5)</sup> Gordon's early procedures, although no doubt adequate, were too elaborate to employ in a study of this scope.<sup>(6)</sup> But an attempt was made to gather the fullest possible data by including in the questionnaire a list of each school's activities, and students were asked to check 'yes' or 'no' to participation in each. (See end of questionnaire in Appendix A.). If a student checked 'yes' to an activity, he was instructed to complete further columns concerning hours spent in the activity, offices held, awards won, and self-assessment of degree of involvement relative to others. Unfortunately, questions beyond 'yes' or 'no', office held and award won, were not frequently answered, and efforts to calculate 'hours' or 'self-assessment', had to be abandoned. In treating the variable at the stage of analysis of data, participation was studied grossly, 'participation' or 'non-participation', then in terms of types of participation: athletic only, non-athletic only, both,



or neither; then in terms of total numbers of activities reported.

## Goals

Rehberg's fairly elaborate measures of educational and occupational goals were borrowed directly in this study, as was his practice of presenting an introductory note concerned with explaining the broader aims of the study.<sup>(7)</sup> (See questionnaire in Appendix A, #1, #2, #3 and #4.). Occupational aspirations and expectations were then classified in terms of Blishen's six point rank order index, and inasmuch as responses generally fell into categories at the top or bottom of the scale, the further distinction used to justify a dichotomy on father's occupation (SES) was not necessary. A seven point forced choice scheme was used for educational aspirations and expectations, and in the analysis responses were dichotomized at the point between two and four year's of university. This procedure sets the cut off point at a fairly high level, but seems defensible on the grounds that the literature is finding completion to be the best predictor of occupational success. One can argue as well that if in fact aspirations often need to be tempered and modified by practical considerations, a stated aspiration should be high if success or fulfillment is to be achieved.

## ANALYSIS

Basically, information has been analyzed by cross-classifying relevant variables and observing percentage distributions. The statistical measure of relationship employed is gamma, coupled with a chi square level of probability. Gamma is appropriate in dealing with





ordinal measures calculated on the basis of paired associations; the statistic gives a numerical value ranging from  $-1$  to  $+1$ , which is the percentage of reduction in error in predicting the order of a pair of observations on one variable from their order on another. Gamma can be interpreted, then, as a measure of association which tells both the magnitude and the direction of the relationship of two ordinal variables, based on observed paired associations. Chi square, a less powerful statistic indicates whether or not the frequencies observed in categories differ from frequencies which might be expected by chance alone. The essential weakness of the statistic is that when the sample size is large, small differences in distributions, though of no substantive significance, are found to be statistically significant, and the statistic thus is meaningless. When the statistics of gamma and chi square are considered together, as has been done here, they describe the magnitude, direction and level of probability of associations for ordinal variables.<sup>(8)</sup> At several points analyses were conducted at the interval level, when at least one variable was clearly at the interval level, (i.e. participation by overall number of activities reported).

The following rules were observed in rejecting or not rejecting hypotheses. If gamma values for a relationship rose above  $.3$ , and the distribution was statistically significant in terms of the chi square probability level,  $(.05)$  hypotheses were not rejected. If the reported gamma value was high  $(.3+)$  but the observed distribution was likely to have occurred by chance, the hypothesis was rejected. Similarly, if a gamma value was lower than  $.3$ , indicating a weak relationship, but the probability level significant, the hypothesis was also rejected. Therefore, in order not to reject a hypothesis, the statistics had to occur in a combination which indicated a moderate to strong relationship at a statistically significant level of probability. The extent of interpretation of percentage distributions depended on the strength of the relationship as portrayed in this combination of statistics. Generally, for the sake of clarity, exact gamma values and probability levels will be reported.





The program used in the analysis was NON-P10, "... one of over one hundred developed by the graduate student assistants and staff of the Division of Educational Research Services",<sup>(9)</sup> and instructions concerning the treatment of variables for each specific analysis were computerized using Datran, a companion sub-program of the NON-P10 package.



## CONCLUDING NOTE: INDIVIDUAL AND SCHOOL SES IN THE SAMPLE

The attempt to build the contextual variable into the study at the stage of sampling, by selecting three schools of different SES composition, was largely dependent on the assessment of SES levels of schools made by officials of the Separate School Board, which does not have this kind of information analyzed for its system. The Board's intuitive selection was thought to be correct in the opinions of the principals of the three schools, and real estate values of the districts in which the schools were located supported the choice as well. In Table 2, from the description of the distribution of the SES variable in the sample, it can be seen that the examination of SES differences at both the individual and contextual levels is viable in terms of sample composition. A breakdown of the sample n's, by school and grade level, is also included in this Table, page 48.



TABLE 2

A. DISTRIBUTION OF THE SES VARIABLE IN THE SAMPLE BY SCHOOL

INDIVIDUAL SES

SES of School	High	Middle	Low	Total
High	39.3(48)	34.4(42)	26.2(32)	40.4(122)
Middle	30.3(27)	37.1(33)	32.6(29)	29.5(89)
Low	11.0(10)	29.7 27)	59.3(54)	30.1(91)
Total	28.1(85)	33.8(102)	38.1(115)	100.0(302)

gamma = .405       $\chi^2 = 31.86$       df = 4      p = .001

B. SAMPLE BY SES, SCHOOL AND GRADE LEVEL

INDIVIDUAL SES	High SES School		Middle SES School	Low SES School	
(Blishen)	Gr. 9	Gr. 11	Gr. 11	Gr. 9	Gr. 11
1	6	7	7	-	4
2	25	10	20	2	4
3	9	10	14	2	9
4	8	5	10	1	3
5	7	3	9	6	6
6	12	12	21	23	14
7	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
TOTAL	71	51	89	43	48
TOTAL BY SCHOOL	122		89	91	

N = 302



## C H A P T E R   T H R E E

## REFERENCES

1. Although Freisen found no differences in ratios of participation across grade levels, Knill found that participation tended to drop off among Grade XII students. Freisen, op.cit. ; p. 8, Knill, op.cit. p. 220.
2. Blishen, Bernard. R. "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada". in Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives, 3rd edition. ed: Bernard R. Blishen, Frank E. Jones, Kaspar D. Naegele, and John Porter. Toronto: McMillan of Canada, 1968, pp. 741-753.
3. Rehberg's questionnaire was made available to this student by Dr. W.G. Spady of O.I.S.E. (Toronto).
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5. Snyder, Eldon E. "A Longitudinal Analysis of the Relationship Between High School Student Values, Social Participation, and Education-Occupational Achievement". op.cit.
6. Gordon, Wayne, 1957. The Social System of the High School. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, Appendix.
7. Rehberg questionnaire.
8. Mueller, John H., Karl F. Schuessler and Herbert L. Costner, 1970. Statistical Reasoning in Sociology, 2nd. edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., pp. 279-292. This text includes a complete discussion of the gamma statistic, as well as the chi square.
9. Each printout returned from the Computing Centre includes this advertisement for DERS.





## C H A P T E R      F O U R

### FINDINGS: INDIVIDUAL AND SCHOOL SES AND PARTICIPATION

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In the following three chapters, the findings of analyses concerning the three parts of the research are presented and discussed. Observing the order established in the opening chapters of the thesis, the relationships of socio-economic status and participation, at both the individual and contextual levels, are dealt with first. Then, the results of the exploration of reward structures as they are perceived by students of different SES background are examined in Chapter Five. In Chapter Six, findings concerning the relationships of major independent variables, SES, grades and parental encouragement, with the dependent variables of educational and occupational goals, are examined in some depth. The Chapter will conclude with the presentation of findings of the relationship of participation and the dependent variables of goals, a central hypothesis in this research.

#### SES AND PARTICIPATION IN THREE SCHOOLS

In this Chapter, we present the analysis of data and the discussion of findings concerning Hypotheses I and II. Hypothesis I, well explored in the American literature, concerns the relationship of these variables at the individual level.



H I: The rate of student participation in the extracurricular activities of the school will be positively associated with individual SES.

The second hypothesis was essentially exploratory, stimulated by the remark at various points in the literature that peer group differences, and different subcultures as they develop in schools, might be a fruitful object of study in understanding the question of contextual effects.

H II: There will be a positive direct relation between the percentage of students who participate in the extracurriculum of the high school, and the dominant SES composition of the high school, holding constant individual SES.

Numerous analyses were undertaken in investigating these relationships, in view of the various possible operationalisations of the variable.

#### INDIVIDUAL SES AND PARTICIPATION BY OVERALL NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES REPORTED

If participation is operationalised in terms of the total number of activities reported by each student, the variable is clearly at the interval level. This, coupled with the fact that in coding SES, a seven point rank order was used, made the use of Pearson's Product Moment Correlation statistic a legitimate treatment. When the data were analyzed



in this way, the observed correlation between SES and Participation was quite low (.14). When school SES was controlled, the relationships were further reduced. (.09 for the high SES school, -.10 for the middle SES school, and .02 for the low SES school). These results indicated that the analysis could not be conducted beyond the ordinal level. Observing the frequencies of reported participation in terms of overall number of activities, it was determined that few students reported more than seven activities overall, and the majority of students reported one, two or three involvements. The decision was made on this basis to proceed with the analysis operationalizing participation at the ordinal level only.

#### INDIVIDUAL SES AND TYPES OF PARTICIPATION

Information concerning participation in extracurricular activities was collected and coded using a distinction which had proved valuable in two studies reported by Spady. He found that students who participated in school government activities and activities oriented to service in the community or in the school, could be distinguished from students whose only involvements were athletic, both in terms of the aspirations they formulated, as well as in their subsequent attainment rates.<sup>(1)</sup> In a re-analysis of this data he further differentiated among type of participants and found these distinctions to be insightful.<sup>(2)</sup> For these reasons this procedure was adapted in this study and four types of activity, government/service, social, interschool athletic and intramural athletic, were incorporated at the stage of collection of data and data coding. At the stage of analysis, it was found necessary, because of cell sizes, to collapse these categories into three types: non-athletic activity only, athletic activity only, and a 'both types' category. Inasmuch as this



variable is actually nominal, though a quasi-ordinal hierarchy might be argued, it was decided to include non-participants as a fourth category and conduct the analysis in terms of chi square. Data were analyzed by Individual and School SES, to test Hypotheses I and II, and the findings are presented in Table 3,(page 54).

The analysis of the relationship of individual SES and types of participation was hampered at several points by the occurrence of unacceptably low numbers of cases in Table 3, despite the fact that categories had been collapsed. This suggests that certain patterns of participation tend to emerge and predominate in different schools. Most students in each school report the same type of participation. An examination of the cell sizes in the 'total' columns of Table 3 indicates that 'non-athletic participation only' is the least frequently reported type across the three schools. The middle SES school shows a decided 'athletic-only' bias, and in the low SES school, students are most likely to be involved in 'both', but a sizeable sub-group report 'athletic only'. Individual SES seems to be having an effect, although chi squares are not statistically significant.

#### INDIVIDUAL AND SCHOOL SES, AND NUMBER OF EACH TYPE OF ACTIVITY

In Table 3, the categories of 'non-athletic activity only', 'athletic activity only', and 'both', are not mutually exclusive, and as a result comparisons across schools were difficult to make. Therefore, the decision was taken to emphasize the findings of a more detailed analysis in making comparisons relevant to Hypotheses I and II.





TABLE 3

## INDIVIDUAL SES AND PARTICIPATION BY TYPE FOR THREE SCHOOLS

High SES School	INDIVIDUAL SES		
	High	Low	Total
Government/service, social only,	11.2(9)	16.7(7)	13.1(16)
Athletic activity only	3.7(3)	14.3(9)	7.4(9)
Both	72.5(58)	59.5(25)	68.0(83)
Neither	12.5(10)	9.5(4)	11.5(15)
Total	65.6(80)	34.4(42)	100.0(122)

$$\chi^2 = 5.65 \quad df = 3 \quad p = .12$$

Middle SES School	INDIVIDUAL SES		
	High	Low	Total
Government/service, social only	7.8(4)	5.3(2)	6.7(6)
Athletic activity only	47.1(24)	36.1(14)	42.7(38)
Both	23.5(12)	15.8(6)	20.2(18)
Neither	21.6(11)	42.1(27)	30.3(27)
Total	57.3(51)	42.7(38)	100.0(89)

$$\chi^2 = 4.42 \quad df = 3 \quad p = .219$$

Low SES School	INDIVIDUAL SES		
	High	Low	Total
Government/service, social only	4.0(1)	18.2(12)	14.3(13)
Athletic only	40.0(10)	22.7(15)	27.5(25)
Both	40.0(10)	45.5(30)	44.0(40)
Neither	16.0(4)	13.6(13)	14.3(13)
Total	27.5(25)	72.5(66)	100.0(91)

$$\chi^2 = 4.71 \quad df = 3 \quad p = .10$$



Participation was thus operationalised in terms of numbers of activities reported for each of the types of activities originally adapted from Spady: government and service activities, social activities, interschool team participation and within-school athletics.<sup>(3)</sup> Because these data include the number of activities for each type of activity, and not simply categories, gamma values could be examined for these relationships. Reports concerning 'office held' and 'awards won', classified into 'yes' or 'no', were examined as well in this analysis, using the chi square test of differences. Participation was cross-classified by School and Individual SES, and the table thus constructed presents the complete description of extracurricular participation patterns in each school, by individual SES, and is an adequate test of Hypotheses I and II. These findings are presented in Table 4(a) for the high SES school, Table 4(b) for the middle SES school, and Table 4(c) for the low SES school, (page 56, 57 and 58).

In Table 4(a), in the high SES school, the hypothesis is supported by the direction of the distribution, and some gamma values are strong, but at no point do gamma values and probability levels combine to justify not rejecting Hypothesis I. The strongest evidence in support of the hypothesis is seen in relation to government/service activities. Thirty-two percent of high SES students report high participation, as against 15% of low SES students, and 30% more low SES students than high SES students report no involvement at all. (Table 4(a). The association is quite strong, (gamma = .323) but the probability level indicates that the relationship is not statistically significant.(p=.08). In social activities, hobby clubs, music clubs, etcetera, 11% more high SES students report high activity than do low SES students, but fewer than half the students for each SES level report participation. The relationship is not strong, (gamma = .200) and the likelihood of this frequency being observed by chance is high. (p=.35). Low SES students tend to dominate interschool athletic teams, and in view of the generally held notion that such participation is an important source of prestige in the high



TABLE 4(a)

INDIVIDUAL SES AND NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES OF EACH TYPE IN THE HIGH SES SCHOOL

GOVERNMENT/SERVICE ACTIVITY				WITHIN SCHOOL ATHLETICS			
No. of Activities	INDIVIDUAL SES		Total	No. of Activities	INDIVIDUAL SES		Total
	High	Low			High	Low	
2 or more	32.5(26)	14.3(26)	26.2(32)	2 or more	47.5(38)	35.7(15)	43.4(53)
One	37.5(30)	42.9(30)	39.3(48)	one	18.8(13)	31.0(13)	23.0(28)
None	30.0(24)	42.9(24)	34.4(42)	none	33.7(27)	33.3(14)	33.6(41)
Total	65.6(80)	34.4(42)	100.0(122)	Total	65.6(80)	34.4(42)	100.0(122)
gamma = .323      p = .08				gamma = .115      p = .26			
SOCIAL ACTIVITY				OFFICE HELD			
No. of Activities	INDIVIDUAL SES		Total		INDIVIDUAL SES		Total
	High	Low			High	Low	
2 or more	22.5(18)	11.9(5)	18.9(23)	YES	25.0(20)	16.7(7)	22.1(27)
One	31.3(25)	33.3(14)	32.0(39)	NO	75.0(60)	83.3(35)	77.9(95)
none	46.3(37)	54.8(23)	49.2(60)	TOTAL	65.6(80)	34.4(42)	100.0(122)
Total	65.6(80)	34.4(42)	100.0(122)				
gamma = .200      p = .35				gamma = .250      x <sup>2</sup> = 1.11      p = .29			
INTERSCHOOL TEAMS				AWARD WON			
No. of Activities	INDIVIDUAL SES		Total		INDIVIDUAL SES		Total
	High	Low			High	Low	
2 or more	26.2(21)	40.5(17)	31.1(38)	YES	42.5(34)	31.0(13)	38.5(47)
one	30.0(16)	14.3(6)	18.0(22)	NO	57.5(46)	69.0(29)	61.5(75)
none	53.8(43)	45.2(19)	50.8(62)	TOTAL	61.5(80)	38.5(42)	100.0(122)
gamma = -.207      p = .26				gamma = .245      x <sup>2</sup> = 1.55      p = .21			



TABLE 4(b)

INDIVIDUAL SES AND NUMBER OF EACH TYPE OF ACTIVITY IN THE MIDDLE SES SCHOOL

GOVERNMENT/SERVICE ACTIVITY				WITHIN SCHOOL ATHLETICS			
No. of Activities	INDIVIDUAL SES		Total	No. of Activities	INDIVIDUAL SES		Total
	High	Low			High	Low	
2 or more	7.8(4)	5.3(2)	6.7(6)	2 or more	25.5(13)	15.8(6)	21.3(19)
one	13.7(7)	10.5(4)	12.4(11)	one	31.4(16)	28.9(11)	30.3(27)
none	78.4(40)	84.2(32)	80.9(72)	none	43.1(22)	55.3(21)	48.3(43)
Total	57.3(51)	42.7(38)	100.0(89)	Total	57.3(51)	42.7(38)	100.0(89)
gamma = .183      p = .78				gamma = .231      p = .43			
SOCIAL ACTIVITY				OFFICE HELD			
No. of Activities	INDIVIDUAL SES		Total	No. of Activities	INDIVIDUAL SES		Total
	High	Low			High	Low	
2 or more	2.0(1)	10.5(4)	5.6(5)	YES	21.6(11)	13.2(5)	18.0(16)
one	19.6(10)	2.6(1)	12.4(11)	NO	78.4(40)	86.8(33)	82.0(73)
none	78.4(40)	86.8(33)	82.0(73)	TOTAL	57.3(51)	42.7(38)	100.0(89)
Total	57.3(51)	42.7(38)	100.0(89)				
gamma = .205      p = .01				gamma = .290      x <sup>2</sup> = 1.04      p = .30			
INTERSCHOOL TEAMS				AWARD WON			
No. of Activities	INDIVIDUAL SES		Total	No. of Activities	INDIVIDUAL SES		Total
	High	Low			High	Low	
2 or more	31.4(16)	26.3(10)	29.2(26)	YES	29.4(15)	15.8(6)	23.6(21)
one	31.4(16)	21.1(8)	27.0(24)	NO	70.6(36)	84.2(32)	76.4(68)
none	37.3(19)	52.6(20)	43.8(39)	TOTAL	57.3(51)	42.7(38)	100.0(89)
Total	57.3(51)	42.7(38)	100.0(89)				
gamma = .209      p = .32				gamma = .379      x <sup>2</sup> = 5.41      p = .13			





TABLE 4(c)

INDIVIDUAL SES AND NUMBER OF EACH TYPE OF ACTIVITY IN THE LOW SES SCHOOL

GOVERNMENT/SERVICE ACTIVITY				WITHIN SCHOOL ATHLETICS			
No. of Activities	High	INDIVIDUAL SES		No. of Activities	High	INDIVIDUAL SES	
		Low	Total			Low	Total
2 or more	16.0(4)	6.1(4)	8.8(8)	2 or more	8.0(2)	6.1(4)	6.6(6)
one	12.0(13)	33.3(22)	27.5(25)	one	64.0(16)	57.6(30)	59.3(54)
none	72.0(18)	60.6(40)	63.7(58)	none	28.0(7)	36.4(24)	34.1(31)
Total	27.5(25)	72.5(66)	100.0(91)	Total	27.5(25)	72.5(66)	100.0(91)
gamma = .132      p = .06				gamma = .173      p = .74			
SOCIAL ACTIVITY				OFFICE HELD			
No. of Activities	High	INDIVIDUAL SES		No. of Activities	High	INDIVIDUAL SES	
		Low	Total			Low	Total
2 or more	0.0(0)	9.1(6)	6.6(6)	YES	20.0(5)	15.2(10)	16.5(15)
one	24.0(6)	27.3(18)	26.4(24)	NO	80.0(20)	84.8(56)	83.5(76)
none	76.0(19)	63.6(42)	67.0(61)	Total	27.5(25)	72.5(66)	100.0(91)
Total	27.5(25)	72.5(66)	100.0(91)	gamma = .167 $\chi^2 = .058$ p = .81			
gamma = .323      p = .25							
INTERSCHOOL TEAMS				AWARD WON			
No. of Activities	High	INDIVIDUAL SES		No. of Activities	High	INDIVIDUAL SES	
		Low	Total			Low	Total
2 or more	36.0(9)	16.7(11)	22.0(20)	YES	28.0(7)	13.6(9)	17.6(16)
one	20.0(5)	22.7(15)	22.0(20)	NO	72.0(18)	86.4(57)	82.4(75)
none	44.0(11)	60.6(40)	56.0(51)	TOTAL	27.5(25)	72.5(66)	100.0(91)
Total	27.5(25)	72.5(66)	100.0(91)	gamma = .422 $\chi^2 = 1.68$ p = .19			
gamma = .342      p = .13							



school, this finding does not support the hypothesis either statistically or substantively. Although the direction of the distribution in intramural athletic participation is as hypothesized, the relationship is weak, ( $\gamma = .115$ ) and not statistically significant. ( $p = .26$ ). Nine percent more high SES students report holding offices in the extracurriculum than do low SES students, of the 22% of students in this school who have such positions, but this relationship is not statistically significant. Finally, 42% of high SES students report having received recognition or awards for extracurricular activities, as against 31% of low SES students, but the relationship for this distribution is again only moderate ( $\gamma = .245$ ) and not statistically significant. ( $p = .21$ ). In conclusion then, while the hypothesis correctly predicts the direction of the distribution observed in the high SES school, generally gamma values are not strong, and probability levels not significant.

Government/service activity is not popular in the middle SES school, (Table 4(b), page 57). In all, only 19% of the students in this school report this type of activity, (as against 65% in the high SES school) and Table cell sizes are too low to meaningfully discuss differences. In social activities, a relationship with SES is found. Twenty-two percent of high SES students report participation in these activities as against 13% of low SES students. The relationship is only moderate, ( $\gamma = .205$ ) but observed differences are significant at the .01 level. Reports concerning participation on interschool teams show that 5% more high SES students report membership on two or more teams than do low SES students, and 10% more "high's" report membership on one interschool team than do "low's," (Table 4(b)). These percentage distribution spreads are quite small though, and the relationship is neither strong nor statistically significant ( $\gamma = .209$ ,  $p = .32$ ). The same observation can be made concerning intramural athletics, ( $\gamma = .231$ ,  $p = .43$ ). The associations of SES and office holding, and award winning are stronger, (gammas = .290 and .379 respectively). Twenty-two percent of high SES students report having offices as against



13% of low SES students. Thirty percent of high SES students report having received recognition in the form of letters or awards, as against 16% of low SES students. Neither of these relationships are statistically significant. ( $p=.30$  and  $.13$  respectively).

In summary, the pattern in Table 4(b) indicates that for the middle SES school, the major extracurricular emphasis is athletic. In terms of Hypothesis I, while more high SES students report high involvement than do low SES students, and few high SES students report no involvement at all, probabilities of observed frequencies are generally high, and gamma values small to moderate. The strongest relationships observed which might be construed as supporting the hypothesis are in, first, social activities, but here only 18% of the students participate, and  $n$ 's in table cells are below the generally accepted level of five, and second, in 'office held' and 'award won', where relationships with individual SES are quite strong ( $\text{gamma} = .290$  and  $.379$ ) but not statistically significant.

In the low SES school, the pattern changes again. (Table 4(c), page 58). Low SES students report higher activity in government and service activities than do high SES students - 16% versus 6% - and 21% more low SES students report one activity than do high SES students. A weak negative relationship is observed, ( $\text{gamma} = .132$ ) and the relationship is not statistically significant. ( $p=.06$ ). The same low SES dominance is seen in reports of social activities, though differences by SES are not statistically significant, and while a relatively strong gamma value is observed,  $-.232$ , this statistic is inflated by the empty cell for high SES high participation. Interestingly, despite the fact that the high proportion of students in this school are of low SES background, (73%) percentage distributions indicate that high SES students tend to participate more extensively in interschool athletics. Twenty percent more high SES than low SES respondents report no activity at all. The observed relationship is strong, ( $\text{gamma} .342$ ) and the probability level, although above the rejection





level, is quite low ( $p=.13$ ). Although a slight high SES bias is found in the percentage distribution for intramural sports, the relationship is weak ( $\gamma = .173$ ) and not statistically significant. ( $p=.74$ ). Five percent more high SES students report holding office than do low SES students in this low SES school, though the finding is not statistically unexpected, ( $p=.81$ ). A strong gamma of .422 indicates that high SES students are more likely to report having received awards, but because few students report having won awards, (17%) the observed distribution is not statistically significant. ( $p=.19$ ). In this school as well, then, although 4 of 6 gammas are positive, indicating a positive association of SES and Participation, despite the overwhelmingly low SES composition of the school, and although two positive gammas rise above .3, the relationships are not statistically significant and Hypothesis I is not supported.

In summary, six measures of participation in the extracurriculum were examined across three schools in testing the relationship of individual SES and Participation. Of the 18 gammas observed, 5 are positive, 1 negative in the high SES school, all are positive in the middle SES school, and 4 are positive in the low SES school. Of these 10, four rise above the 'consideration' limit set at .3, and one negative gamma of  $-.323$  is observed in the low SES school. None of the associations summarized by these stronger gammas are found in combination with probability levels of .05 or lower. On this basis then, in terms of the guidelines which should be observed for rejecting or not rejecting hypotheses, Hypothesis I must be rejected.

#### SCHOOL SES AND PARTICIPATION

Two tables are introduced as evidence that what might be construed as a school SES effect seems to be operating on participation patterns for this sample. The numbers of extracurricular activities available in





each school tend to support the hypothesis, as well as the frequencies in the 'total' column in the analysis just discussed. The extracurricular offerings of each school, by type of activity, have been brought together from question #7 in the questionnaire in Table 5, and column totals are presented in Table 6, for ready comparisons (page 50 and 51).\*

Examining government/service participation across schools (Table 6), it can be seen that although the middle SES and low SES schools do not differ, the high SES school clearly involves more students in activities of student government, newspaper, yearbook publication and the like. This finding is interesting in light of the fact that all three schools offer approximately the same number of this type of activity (Table 5) in which students might involve themselves. Twenty-six percent of high SES students report participation in two or more activities, as against roughly 7% in the other two schools. Almost twice as many students in the high SES school report at least one government/service as do students in other schools. These differences cannot be ascribed to the SES of the school alone, though, in that 36% of the low SES school students report at least one activity, as against 18% in the middle school.

The same relationship is observed in looking at social activities. Fifty-one percent of students in the high SES school report at least one activity, as against 18% in the middle SES school, and 33% in the school of low SES composition. Extracurricular activities available differ sharply as well: 17 clubs are available in the high SES school, as against 9 in the middle SES school, and 6 in the low SES school. (Table 5). One interesting finding is that although more such activities

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\* The computerized calculation of magnitude, direction and significance of these relationships was not attempted.



T A B L E 5

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES BY TYPE  
IN THREE SCHOOLS

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	High SES School	Middle SES School	Low SES School
Government & service	9	8	10
Social	17	9	6
Interschool Teams	6	6	4
Intramural Athletics	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>
TOTAL	45	33	25



TABLE 6

## STUDENTS' PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES BY TYPE OF ACTIVITY AND SCHOOL SES

## SCHOOL SES"

## GOVERNMENT/SERVICE

No. of Activities	High SES School	Middle SES School	Low SES School
2 or more	26.2	6.7	8.8
one activity	39.3	12.4	27.5
none	34.4	80.9	63.5

## SOCIAL ACTIVITY

No. of Activities	High SES School	Middle SES School	Low SES School
2 or more	18.9	5.6	6.6
one activity	32.0	12.4	26.4
none	49.2	82.0	67.0

## INTERSCHOOL TEAMS

No. of Activities	High SES School	Middle SES School	Low SES School
2 or more	31.1	29.2	22.0
one activity	18.0	27.0	22.0
none	50.8	43.8	56.0

## WITHIN SCHOOL SPORTS

No. of Activities	High SES School	Middle SES School	Low SES School
3 or more	43.4	21.3	6.6
one or two	23.0	30.3	59.3
none	33.6	48.3	34.1

## OFFICE HELD

No. of Activities	High SES School	Middle SES School	Low SES School
Yes	22.1	18.0	16.5
No	77.9	82.0	83.5

## AWARD WON

No. of Activities	High SES School	Middle SES School	Low SES School
Yes	42.5	23.6	17.6
No	61.5	76.4	82.4



are available in the middle SES school in which students may choose to participate than in the low SES school, reported participation is twice as high in the low SES school.

Schools were found to be fairly evenly matched in terms of the number of interschool teams available for which students may try out, and participation was even across schools. All three schools report that almost half the students sampled play on some interschool team.

Facilities in the high SES and middle SES schools in this sample were much more elaborate than in the low SES school, an old school in an old building in an older district, and this seems reflected in the number of intramural offerings of each school. For this reason perhaps, school SES and high participation are linearly related, and percentage spreads are broad. (Table 6). Interestingly enough though, in both the high SES school and low SES school roughly 65% of students report at least one activity as against 50% for the middle SES school. Thus the relation of school SES and Participation in 'at least one' activity is not linear, and differences among schools are sharply reduced.

In Table 6, the relationship for office holding across the three schools is linear, but percentage differences are only 5%. Regarding awards won, the high SES school presents many more awards to students than does the middle SES school - a 19% difference - but differences are slight (6%) between the middle SES and low SES school.

On the whole then, in Table 6, the evidence in support of Hypothesis II is not strong. Summarizing the evidence, the relationship of school SES and Participation seems to be operating for government service and social activities among high (2 or more activities) and medium (one activity) participants in the high and low SES schools, but reports from the middle SES school destroy the linearity of the relationship. In interschool activities, the direction of the relationship is as hypothesized, in terms of percentage distributions, but differences are





slim. Regarding within school activities, the direction of the relationship, among high participants, is as hypothesized, and percentages are widely separated, but this effect tends to be reduced by reports concerning medium participation. Percentage differences for responses concerning 'office held' are negligible, but the hypothesized effect is clearly operating regarding 'awards won'. On the basis of this information, then, Hypothesis II must be rejected.\*

#### INDIVIDUAL AND SCHOOL SES AND PARTICIPATION/NON-PARTICIPATION

One final operationalisation was undertaken in view of the frequent occurrence, in the analysis just described, of distributions

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\* The data have not been tested statistically, for two reasons. One reason is presented in the next set of findings to be discussed, the final test of the SES/Participation relationship. The second reason is that the analysis of school SES effect on the major dependent variables of the study, occupational and educational goals, was considered to be of greater substantive importance. This relationship, to anticipate later reportage, was found to be erased when individual SES was controlled. One long range ambition of this study, in view of the abundant data available, was to test to see (given that a school SES effect independent of individual SES was found) whether or not Participation could be identified as the mediating influence between school SES and Aspirations and Expectations (a potentially very 'elegant' finding). In view of the absence of relationship between school SES and Goals with individual SES controlled, and in view of the confused patterns in school SES differences vis-a-vis Participation, the calculation of statistics to test Hypothesis II, on the basis of this particular operationalisation of the dependent variable, seemed somewhat superfluous.



which supported Hypotheses I and II in terms of direction, and of positive, if low, gamma values. When the classification of Participation by types of activities was dropped, and participation/non-participation frequencies by School and Individual SES examined directly, the notion that a relationship was present was not entirely dispelled.

School SES	Individual SES	Participation	Non-Participation
High	High	87.4(70)	12.5(10)
	Low	90.5(38)	9.5(4)
Middle	High	78.4(40)	21.6(11)
	Low	57.9(22)	42.1(16)
Low	High	84.0(21)	16.0(4)
	Low	84.4(57)	1 .6(9)

While it is clear that the school SES effect is at best only slight, individual SES differences in the middle SES school seem strong. This raises the possibility, in view of the fact that only Grade XI students were sampled in this school, and Grades IX and XI students in the other two, that grade level differences might be suppressing the relationship. If younger students were less cognizant of differences in individual background as has been reported,<sup>(4)</sup> the hypothesis might yet prove valid for older students. The fact that only four Grade IX students in the low SES school were classified as of high SES background, precluded splitting the sample by School, SES and Grade Level, but it was possible to control grade level by examining the relationship for the Grade IX students only in the sample. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 7, (page 68).

The table demonstrates that participation remains high across the sample, at least in comparison with Freisen's finding of 50% participation.<sup>(5)</sup> Although the exclusion of Grade IX responses from the analysis



TABLE 7

SES AND PARTICIPATION FOR GRADE ELEVEN STUDENTS IN THREE SCHOOLS

P A R T I C I P A T I O N				
School SES	Individual SES	YES	NO	TOTAL
HIGH	High	71.9(23)	28.1(9)	62.7(32)
	Low	78.9(15)	21.1(4)	37.3(19)
	Total	74.5(38)	25.5(13)	100.0(51)
	gamma = -.189	$\chi^2 = .052$	df = 1	p = .81
MIDDLE	High	78.4(40)	21.6(11)	57.3(51)
	Low	57.9(22)	42.1(16)	42.7(38)
	Total	69.7(62)	30.3(27)	100.0(89)
	gamma = .451	$\chi^2 = 4.34$	df = 1	p = .03
LOW	High	80.0(16)	20.0(4)	41.7(20)
	Low	85.7(24)	14.3(4)	58.3(28)
	Total	83.3(40)	16.7(8)	100.0(48)
	gamma = -.200	$\chi^2 = .017$	df = 1	p = .89



tends to reduce the percentages reported for participation, particularly for the high SES school, no relationship between individual SES and Participation is found in either the high SES or low SES school, nor is a school SES effect demonstrated. An individual SES effect is observed in the middle SES school, at a statistically significant level. If the dependent variable is taken as quasi-ordinal in this operationalisation, the gamma value, .451, can be taken as a measure of the strength and positive direction of the relation. Gamma values are negative, and weak, however, for 11th graders in the other two schools. Thus Grade IX students, while contributing to a higher reported rate of participation in the high SES school, are not obscuring the relationship between individual SES and participation. The relationship simply is not present, at least for two of the three schools in the sample.

On the basis of this analysis, Hypothesis II, concerning school SES is rejected, and Hypotheses I modified to hold only under certain conditions. It is difficult to describe with any confidence, the specifying conditions of the SES/Participation relationship from this one finding alone. In examining the school activity by activity, the relationships were not strong enough to support the decision not to reject. But in view of this fairly strong finding, some interpretation is warranted.

Two interpretations seem tenable. One possibility is that an undetermined organizational property of the middle SES school makes it anomalous, and the relation is school-specific. But inasmuch as this relation has often been reported in American studies, this explanation is not very convincing. Any interpretation, rather than explaining why a relationship was found, needs to explain why relationships were not found in the other two schools.





Another possibility, equally valid in terms of the findings of this sample, is that in schools of heterogeneous SES composition, where students from different SES backgrounds are fairly evenly matched numerically, students are more conscious of personal socio-economic differences, and experience greater anxieties vis-a-vis peers of different backgrounds. As a result fewer lower SES students tend to engage in any activities with peers, though among those who do, few differences will be observed in style of participation as against high SES participants. The influence of SES, in this sample, is felt mainly at the point where the decision to participate or not participate is made. The suggestion is, then, that background differences have a greater influence on the formation of peer group relations in school of heterogeneous SES mix. To continue this train of thought, in schools serving student bodies with decisive majority SES groups, students do not feel challenged to compete with others in terms of personal background variables. The minority SES group is unthreatening, and all students are freer to establish individual relations with the peer group, regardless of SES background. Personal background variables are not diverse enough to become problematic in schools dominated by high SES or low SES majorities.

This interpretation is made quite tenable in terms of Turner's idea that the peer subculture forms, not so that adolescents as a group can defend themselves against the adult world, but to defend themselves against each other.<sup>(6)</sup> Among studies which have found the SES/Participation relationship, Hollingshead and Gordon figure prominently, and both these studies are conducted in single schools of heterogeneous SES composition.<sup>(7)</sup> Other studies, for instance the Survey Research study, have been conducted using national samples, and the variable of school SES was not controlled.<sup>(8)</sup> These studies, then, do not contradict this interpretation. Finally, of the two possibilities enumerated here, this interpretation has the advantage of including more of the evidence from the sample. But in the absence of further information, either explanation is tenable.



Regarding the hypotheses formulated at the outset of this research, then, Hypothesis II is rejected, and Hypothesis I is generally rejected, with the qualification that the relationship can be expected to be operating under certain specifying conditions.



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## C H A P T E R     F I V E

### FINDINGS: INDIVIDUAL AND SCHOOL SES AND REWARD STRUCTURES

#### INTRODUCTION

An integral part of this thesis project has been the exploration of the attitudes of students towards participation in the extracurriculum, and their views concerning the relative importance of academic and extra-curricular activities in the reward system of parents, teachers and peers. Inasmuch as the investigation is concerned with the influence of SES factors on participation behaviour, it was useful to determine whether or not the variable SES, at either the individual or contextual level, influences perceptions as to how different reference groups reward such activity. As well, the interest was to test some of the theoretical statements and empirical findings of that fecund area of sociology of education concerned with characterizations of the social systems of adolescents in the high school.

#### METHODOLOGY

It is in this section of the questionnaire, (#42-65), included to collect information germane to this subject, that the metasociological predispositions of this researcher are perhaps most apparent. The section was developed with the basic idea of discovering to what extent students perceived the different spheres of activities, academic and extra-curricular, to be rewarded by different referents, parents, teachers





and other students, (the peer group) and to what extent they felt these activities to be rewarding in themselves. A more cautious procedure might have been to collate information using a few of the peer group study chestnuts, i.e. 'which would you be remembered as', or 'your parents are going on a vacation and your friends camping', or 'whose disapproval is harder to take'. This procedure would have had the advantage of being easy to analyze, and more precise comparisons to previous studies could have been made. The procedure was not followed for several reasons. The vocabulary used in many earlier sociological measures of parent/peer orientation is unquestionably dated to the ears of the adolescents, a group notoriously given to renewing colloquialisms and in-group jargon with unmatched rapidity. There is something decidedly embarrassing in the scene where the outsider sociologist attempts by transparent and unskillful manipulation of unfamiliar jargon, to 'relate' to a group of subjects and establish a quasi-in-group identity. One aim then, was to prevent the questionnaire being construed in this light by the respondents. A more serious misgiving that precluded following the more conventional procedure, was a general suspicion as to the construct validity of measures designed to measure relative influence of parents and peers. Too often these measures take the form of forced choice, either/or questions which are easily analyzed with chi square, using 2x2 contingency tables, but are not necessarily reflective of choices faced by students in their personal lives.

For these reasons, then, the final section of this questionnaire was designed to allow both/and responses to emerge, if such in fact were to be found in the actual school setting. The rationale aimed at allowing students to react to four posited orientations, four possible positions held by four referents toward two major systems in the school, - the academic, curricular, and the extracurricular. The aim was to determine what activities were rewarded by whom: who, among parents, teachers, and fellow students, rewarded academic success and extracurricular involvement, and to what extent. Of particular interest was the question of



whether or not a breach existed in the direction and extent to which adults and peers rewarded these systems. By going about the investigation in this way it was hoped that attitudes not emphasized in the literature on adolescent subcultures, i.e. students' positive valuation of the academic, and adults' positive valuation of the extracurricular, if they in fact existed, would be allowed to emerge. Students were also asked to respond to statements about their own feelings concerning the two arenas of activity. The four orientations built into the statements, then, were: extracurricular only rewarded, academic only rewarded, both rewarded, and neither.

#### TWENTY-FOUR RESPONSES BY INDIVIDUAL SES

Responses to the twenty-four items were examined in terms of their distribution by individual and school SES, to discover if socio-economic differences at either level led to the development of different sub-cultural value structures. In analyzing data in this way 72 percentage differences in responses by individual SES were presented. The gamma statistic is not particularly appropriate here but it does indicate where differences lie. Several gammas rose above .3, indicating some relationship of variables. Thus in order to inject some order into the presentation of this lengthy information, these individual SES differences will be discussed by way of preliminary, then responses by school will be examined at greater length. Responses were not found to differ consistently or widely in terms of SES at either the individual or contextual level. For this reason the table (Table 8, page 76) is included in this report and has been reconstructed to abandon the individual SES distinction.



TABLE 8

## RESPONSES TO 24 STATEMENTS CONCERNING REWARD STRUCTURES, BY SCHOOL SES

1. My parents are not interested about my grades so much, but want me to excel in extracurricular activities at school.

School	Agree	Disagree
Hi SES	8.2(10)	89.3(112)
Middle SES	3.3(3)	96.7(86)
Low SES	8.7(16)	92.3(75)

2. My parents like me to participate in various extracurricular activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	87.7(107)	9.9(15)
Middle SES	91.0(81)	8.9(8)
Low SES	90.2(82)	9.9(9)

3. My parents are probably most pleased if I do well in school work as well as participate in extracurricular activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	87.7	8.2
Middle SES	91.0	9.0
Low SES	94.6	5.5

4. My parents feel that my academic work suffers if I get involved in extracurricular activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	39.3	59.1
Middle SES	57.3	42.6
Low SES	45.1	55.0



TABLE 8

## RESPONSES TO 24 STATEMENTS CONCERNING REWARD STRUCTURES, BY SCHOOL SES

5. Extracurricular activities are a waste of time, in the opinion of my parents.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	9.0	87.7
Middle SES	8.9	91.0
Low SES	8.8	91.3

6. My parents are not interested either way, about whether I participate in extracurricular activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	30.3	66.4
Middle SES	22.5	77.5
Low SES	24.2	75.9

7. A student who does well in the extracurricular activities of the school gets along well with teachers, regardless of his grades.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	45.1	51.6
Middle SES	44.9	55.0
Low SES	31.0	67.1

8. Teachers approve of well-rounded students: those who get good grades and are active in extracurricular activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	85.2	11.5
Middle SES	93.3	6.7
Low SES	90.2	9.9





TABLE 8

## RESPONSES TO 24 STATEMENTS CONCERNING REWARD STRUCTURES, BY SCHOOL SES

9. Students in this school are encouraged by the staff to get involved in extracurricular activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	86.2	10.6
Middle SES	93.2	6.7
Low SES	75.9	24.2

10. If you want to stay in the teachers' good books, you had better not get involved in the extracurricular side of school life.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	4.9	91.8
Middle SES	11.2	88.8
Low SES	9.9	90.2

11. Most teachers are interested only in students' academic performance, and not extracurricular activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	35.3	61.6
Middle SES	28.1	71.9
Low SES	47.3	52.8

12. The way to win the respect of your fellow students in this school is by being very active in extracurricular activities, and not getting too high grades.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	25.7	68.1
Middle SES	28.1	71.9
Low SES	27.4	72.1



TABLE 8

## RESPONSES TO 24 STATEMENTS CONCERNING REWARD STRUCTURES, BY SCHOOL SES

13. The students most respected by fellow students in this school are those who do well in school work and are active in extra-curricular activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	72.9	23.8
Middle SES	71.9	28.6
Low SES	80.3	19.8

14. You can win more respect in this school, in the eyes of other students, by being a good athlete, than by being either a good student or a leader in other activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	45.0	51.6
Middle SES	42.7	56.1
Low SES	40.7	58.3

15. The best way to gain recognition from fellow students is by getting top grades.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	30.3	66.3
Middle SES	26.9	73.1
Low SES	26.4	72.6

16. Your status among students in this school has nothing to do with grades or extracurricular activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	50.9	45.2
Middle SES	50.6	48.3
Low SES	49.5	48.4



TABLE 8

## RESPONSES TO 24 STATEMENTS CONCERNING REWARD STRUCTURES, BY SCHOOL SES

17. The best way to win status among fellow students is by being both a good student and active in different extracurricular activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	75.5	20.5
Middle SES	66.3	27.7
Low SES	79.2	19.8

18. For myself, I get more out of extracurricular activities than out of academic school work.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	38.5	56.5
Middle SES	49.4	50.6
Low SES	46.2	53.9

19. The more extracurricular activities I am involved in, the better I do, or want to do, in my school work.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	32.0	63.2
Middle SES	37.0	52.8
Low SES	25.3	73.7

20. What I do in school, outside of actual school work, has nothing to do with my school work.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	57.4	37.7
Middle SES	48.3	51.7
Low SES	50.6	49.5



TABLE 8

## RESPONSES TO 24 STATEMENTS CONCERNING REWARD STRUCTURES, BY SCHOOL SES

21. In school, neither extracurricular activities nor class work interest me.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	12.3	81.9
Middle SES	18.0	82.0
Low SES	8.8	91.2

22. In school my interest is in academic work rather than in extracurricular activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	53.3	41.8
Middle SES	47.1	52.8
Low SES	57.2	42.9

23. Teachers see a distinct difference in extracurricular activities in this school, between athletic and non-athletic activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	52.4	41.4
Middle SES	57.3	42.7
Low SES	82.6	26.4

24. In judging students in this school, teachers show preference for excellence in athletics rather than excellence in non-athletic extracurricular activities.

School	Agree	Disagree
High SES	32.0	64.0
Middle SES	16.8	83.2
Low SES	30.8	69.3





In the high SES school in the sample, no gamma value, across the twenty-four items, indicated differences in responses between SES groups. In responding to statements referring to the activities parents reward, teachers' views, the rewards as structured in the peer group, and regarding what students find personally rewarding, perceptions and attitudes do not differ among students of either high or low individual SES in this school.

In the middle SES school, five such differences occurred. To the statement that parents are most pleased if students both get good grades and participate in extracurricular activities (#3), 98% of higher SES agreed, and 18% of lower SES agreed. Six percent of high SES students agreed that parents feel extracurricular activities are a waste of time (#5), while 14% of the low SES students agreed to the same statement. Sixty-three percent of the low SES students agreed that extracurricular activities had nothing to do with schoolwork (#20), as against 40% of high SES students. Twenty-six percent of the low SES students agreed that neither academic nor extracurricular activities were of interest to them (#21), while only 12% of the high SES students agreed. Finally, 40% of high SES students agreed that, at school, only academic work interested them (#22), while 60% of the low SES students responded in this way.

These differences seem to be consistent with one another. Taken together, the indication seems to be that extracurricular activities have somewhat less appeal for some lower class students in this school. Twenty-five percent say that neither system interests them, 60% find academic work to be their more important interest. Since statements are designed to overlap to an extent, no single response is interpreted as firm, rather the responses must be seen as moving through the area under discussion in a fluid way. These five responses then, while indicative of some differences, must be seen as part of the larger profile which will be discussed subsequently.



In the low SES school, two gamma values were found to indicate differences in patterns of responses in terms of individual SES, and these are directly relevant to statements just discussed. In response to the statement, "I get more out of extracurricular activities than out of academic school work", (#18), 32% of the high SES students agreed, as against 52% of the low SES students. ~~Seventy~~-six % of high SES students agreed with the converse, that academic activities were their main preoccupation, (#22), as against 50% of low SES students. Thus the situation is reversed in the low SES school as high SES students leaned somewhat more heavily toward the academic. Again, not too much can be made of these differences until the entire response pattern has been examined.

#### TWENTY-FOUR RESPONSES BY SCHOOL SES

Leaving aside individual SES differences and examining responses across the three schools, what is most striking is the high degree of homogeneity of response, a homogeneity which continues through most of the twenty-four items. Responses vis-a-vis different referents will be presented, then responses, where appropriate, will be compared by specific patterns of participation as reported earlier in the questionnaire.

##### Parents' Attitudes

Few differences appeared in examining responses towards parents' attitudes toward school activities. In the high, middle and low SES schools, 89%, 97% and 92% of the students disagreed with the statement that parents were primarily interested in the student's extracurricular success, and not academic performance. (#1). Only 4% of the entire sample strongly agreed with this statement. These frequencies reverse direction when students are asked to respond to the statement, "My parents like me to participate in various extracurricular activities". (#2).



Eighty-eight percent, 91% and 90% of students agree that this is the case. Again, 88%, 91% and 95% agree that "My parents are probably most pleased if I do well in school as well as participate in extracurricular activities". (#3). The statement, "My parents feel that my academic work suffers if I get involved in extracurricular activities" (#4) was included to identify those whose parents in effect vetoed participation, but in view of the observed response distribution, compared with those of the previous two statements, the statement seems to have been read as, "too involved". Forty percent, 57% and 45% agree with the statement. This distribution seems best interpreted as indicating that parents do see over-involvement as potentially detrimental to academic performance. To the statement, "Extracurricular activities are a waste of time, in the opinion of my parents", 87%, 91% and 93% disagree. (#5). In conclusion the final "parents" statement, "My parents are not interested either way, about whether I participate in extracurricular activities", (#6), was agreed with by 30%, 23% and 24% of students, a seemingly incongruous note.\*

Taken together, this response pattern holds no surprises. Differences by school are negligible and the general indication seems to be that while too deep involvement might be discouraged, extracurricular

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\* Subsequent analysis sheds some light on this incongruity. When this response was examined to find out who agreed with the statement, it was found that 40% of non-athletic participants and 43% of non-participants agree, as against 25% of athletes and 17% of students who report both types of activity. The indication is that parents rewards provide an incentive to participate, parental disinterest, a reason for not participating. The response pattern also indicates that most parents are in fact interested in their student's extracurricular participation.





participation is positively rewarded by parents. While virtually no students see parents as exclusively interested in extracurricular activities, roughly 90% of parents are thought to construe such participation as meaningful activity, and 90% encourage students to get involved in this aspect of the social system and peer culture of the high school. The tendency in the literature to view this arena as controversial is called into question by this evidence. Clark's characterization of athletics as positively valued by the community seems more correct, for this sample.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### Teachers' Attitudes

Students' perceptions of teachers' attitudes towards the curriculum and extracurriculum seem to coincide quite precisely with their views about parents. Eighty-five percent, 93% and 90% of students agree that teachers approve of well-rounded students who get good grades and are active in extracurricular activities. (#8). Eighty-six percent, 93% and 75% agree that teachers encourage students to get involved in extracurricular activities. (#9). The statement, "If you want to stay in the teachers' good books, you had better not get involved in the extracurricular side of school life" (#10) draws disagreement from 92%, 89% and 90% of students in the three schools. Again, the suggestion seems to be that academic performance must not be affected detrimentally by such participation, particularly in the low SES school, in that 35%, 28% and 47% of students agree that most teachers are interested only in students' academic performance, and not extracurricular activities. (#11). In contradiction to this question, one question included to see if teachers rewarded extracurricular participation regardless of grades, turned up somewhat surprising results. 45%, 45% and 31% agreed that "A student who does well in the extracurricular activities of the school gets along well with teachers, regardless of his grades". (#7).





## Peer Group Attitudes

Thus, as regards teachers, the consensus seems to be that overwhelmingly promote and reward such involvement. The low SES school seems to diverge somewhat at this point however, as only 75% of respondents see teachers as encouraging participation, and almost 50% see the teachers' interest as mainly academic. On the whole, there seem to be no real differences in reward structures of parents and teachers vis-a-vis extracurricular participation.

This pattern undergoes some modification when the same sorts of questions are asked vis-a-vis fellow students, the peer group, though again, no between school differences are worthy of note. Two statements postulated a pattern where success in both extracurricular and academic spheres was the best way to win status and respect among fellow students, and responses were in strong agreement with the statements. Seventy-three percent, 72% and 80% of students agreed that "The students most respected by fellow students in this school are those who do well in school work and are active in extracurricular activities". (#13). Rephrased slightly, the statement, "The best way to win status among fellow students is by being both a good student and active in different extracurricular activities", draws agreement from 75%, 67%, and 79% of students. (#17). The 'extracurricular activities only rewarded' statement, "The best way to win the respect of your fellow students in this school is by being very active in extracurricular activities, and not getting too high grades" is agreed to by 29%, 29% and 28% of students. (#12). Approximately the same percentage of students, 30%, 27% and 26% agree with the opposite, that "The best way to gain recognition from fellow students is by getting top grades". (#15). The statement, "You can win more respect in this school, in the eyes of other students, by being a good athlete, than by being either a good student or leader in other activities", was included to see if an athletic bias could be identified in the high school, (#14) and the rate of agreement, 45%, 43% and 41% might be interpreted as identifying just such a phenomenon. The fact that agreement is higher than that given to the term "extracurricular activities" (#12), (29%, 29%, 28%) seems to point in that direction, though fewer than



half the students in each school actually agree with the statement. (Only 32%, 29%, 24% responded in categories 1 and 2, 'strongly agree'). Finally, one statement, "Your status among students in this school has nothing to do with grades or extracurricular activities," draws agreement from 51%, 51% and 50% of students. (#16).

Several insights can be derived from this response pattern. While the direction of response concerning what students reward does not change vis-a-vis parents and teachers, the strength of agreement is generally weaker. Grades and extracurricular activities are both reported as sources of status and prestige in the peer culture. Roughly 80% of students respond that status results from success in both spheres. Approximately 30% see the activities are differentially rewarded, i.e. one more rewarding than the other, but almost equal emphasis is given to academic or extracurricular. Seventy percent choose not to rank the spheres of activity but choose both together as best describing peer group reward structures. Athletic success, an activity highly visible and demanding of skill, is rated by roughly 45% of students as the most rewarded involvement. In view of the 70% to 80% who see both together as sources of status, the 50% agreement that "status has nothing to do with grades or extracurricular activities" strikes a somewhat discordant note. But this relatively high response can be interpreted as consistent if taken as suggesting that not all the social life of the adolescent is conducted within the educational institution, but other arenas and other activities have an importance in adolescent life which cannot be overlooked. This interpretation would account for the general drop of 10 to 20% in agreement rates. The broad implication which emerges from all responses to this point in this analysis seems to be that no gulf exists between peer and adult reward structures as they pertain to within school life in general. And no evidence has emerged to this point which indicates a general anti-intellectual bias among the adolescent subculture, at least within the limitations of this sample. Only the evidence of an athletic bias, reported by a large minority might be construed in this light, and further analysis, to be reported subsequently, circumscribes even this possibility.



## Students' Own Attitudes

In the last section of this attitude exploration, students were asked to respond to statements about what they, as individuals, felt concerning the rewards to be derived for them personally from the curricular and extracurricular arenas. The individual statement, which paralleled the 'both' orientation, moved beyond the question of whether an activity was rewarding into the theory of expectancy-consistency. This theory essentially proposes that as success is experienced in one sphere of life-activity, the individual feels a pressure to improve his performance in other spheres so as to present an integrated competent self-presentation.<sup>(2)</sup> In the high SES, middle SES, and low SES schools respectively, 32%, 37% and 25% of students agreed that "The more extracurricular activities I am involved in, the better I do, or want to do, in my school work".(#19). This frequency represents approximately one third of the sample. If roughly one quarter to one third of the students see the two within-school arenas as harmonious and complementary, the proportion of those who agree with the view that curriculum and extracurriculum are basically divorced, is somewhat higher. Fifty-eight percent, 48% and 50% agreed with the converse, that "What I do in school outside of actual school work has nothing to do with my school work".(#20). In the statements designed to differentiate the students predominantly academically oriented from those extracurricularly oriented, the percentage leaned toward the academic. Fifty-three percent, 47% and 57% agreed that, "In school my interest is in academic work rather than in extracurricular activities, (#22) while 39%, 49% and 46%, agreed with the opposite, that "For myself, I get more out of extracurricular activities than out of academic school work".(#18). Few students, (12%, 18% and 9%) agree that "In school, neither extracurricular activities nor class work interest me".(#21).

These responses seem to make it unanimous that the extracurricular system of the high school is more correctly construed as a central rather than peripheral system in the life of the high school, and not necessarily destructive of academic orientation. Thirty percent of students agree





that a 'transfer' effect operates, that is, success in one arena stimulates involvement in the other. The split between students when asked to choose one or the other is just about even, though leaning towards the academic. Those apathetic or alienated in some way constitute only a small minority.

### RESPONSES BY GRADE LEVEL

Finally responses were examined by grade level in view of the variation in styles of social activity found to exist in different age groups in the Vaz study in Canada.<sup>(3)</sup> Differences in responses by grade level were found to separate students in only 2 of 24 items at a level of significance of .05. Both observed differences were significant at beyond the .01 level. Results of this analysis are presented in Table 9, (page 90 ). The suggestion seems to be that the athletic bias reported earlier seems to wane over time. While Grade IX students admire athletic prowess and see it as particularly highly rewarded by fellow students, 80% of Grade XI students disagree that "You can win more respect in this school, in the eyes of other students, by being a good athlete, than by being either a good student or a leader in other activities".(#14). The second item concerned which arena of activity students found more rewarding personally. Although both groups favour the academic (62% vs 37%), Grade XI students report this response with greater frequency than the Grade IX students. Over 70% of Grade XI students agree that "In school my interest is in academic work rather than in extracurricular activities" (#22), as against 55% of Grade IX students.





TABLE 9

STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN RESPONSE PATTERNS BETWEEN  
GRADE IX and GRADE XI \*

14. You can win more respect in this school, in the eyes of other students, by being a good athlete, than by being either a good student or a leader in other activities.

	Agree	Disagree	Total
Grade IX	38.2(42)	61.8(68)	52.9(110)
Grade XI	19.4(19)	80.6(79)	47.1(98)
Total	29.3(61)	70.7(147)	100.0(208)

$$\chi^2 = 8.83 \quad df = 1 \quad p < .01$$

22. In school my interest is in academic work rather than in extracurricular activities.

	Agree	Disagree	Total
Grade IX	55.0(60)	45.0(49)	52.7(109)
Grade XI	71.4(70)	28.6(28)	47.3(98)
Total	62.8(130)	37.2(77)	100.0(207)

$$\chi^2 = 5.92 \quad df = 1 \quad p = .01$$

\* This analysis was undertaken on responses of students in the high SES and low SES schools.



## SUMMARY

In Chapter Four, Hypothesis I, which postulated that participation in the extracurriculum would be related to individual SES, was intensively tested. Patterns of participation were found to fluctuate to some extent between high SES and low SES students, but these differences did not provide evidence enough to accept the hypothesis. When Participation was operationalised directly in terms of 'yes' or 'no', the hypothesis was rejected for two of three schools, but not rejected for the middle SES school. The analysis of responses of students undertaken in this section presented a similar picture. Attitudes in the high SES school did not differ at any point in terms of individual SES, and in the low SES school, two responses of twenty-four indicated a somewhat higher personal preference for the academic sphere. Responses to the statements in the middle SES school were seen to differ in terms of individual SES regarding five statements. These differences indicated a more positive extracurricular orientation among high SES students than among low SES students. Thus the high SES student dominance in participation is reflected in the generally more positive orientation toward extracurricular activities expressed by this group; low SES students, on the other hand, more frequently report academics as their central interest, and as well, more low SES students report that neither activity interests them.

The second hypothesis treated in the previous Chapter, which postulated a direct relation between school SES and Participation, was rejected as well. The evidence in this section of the study relating to school SES, mirrors these earlier findings. Perceptions across schools as to how different reference groups reward participation in the academic and extracurricular spheres of activity, were markedly homogeneous. Most students in all schools report that parents are highly positively oriented toward participation in extracurricular



activities. Teachers also are perceived as strongly encouraging extra-curricular participation, except in the low SES school, where the staff seems less positively oriented toward the extracurricular sphere. The percentages reported in response to items concerning what students reward, do not differ sharply at any point across schools: the reward structures of peer groups in all three schools are quite congruent. The highest agreement across the board, is given to the item which states, "The best way to win status among fellow students is by being both a good student and active in different extracurricular activities". (#17 - 75%, 67%, 79%). In terms of the responses to items concerning the students themselves, the middle SES school differs, at some points from the other two schools, and these differences are known from the previous analysis to be a reflection of differences in individual SES within that school.

Several points of interest emerge from these analyses. The first concerns the observed differences in the response pattern of the middle SES school. It is not feasible to attempt to discover which came first, the behaviour or the attitude, but it is necessary to try to locate the source of the observed differences. All three reference groups, parents, teachers and peer groups are reported to encourage participation, though low SES parents are somewhat less inclined toward the extracurricular (81% as against 98% for the high SES group). The district in which this school is located is not noted for being of different ethnic composition, and nothing identifies them as different from other parents who are classified in the same bracket on the Blishen scale.

The factor which inhibits low SES participation, and the factor responsible for this less positive extracurricular orientation seems to be located in the peer subculture - perhaps in its particular SES mix. Low SES students as a group feel certain inhibitions against participation. Thus if certain socio-psychological rewards do in fact accrue from participation in extracurricular activities and peer group membership, low SES students seem to be at a disadvantage in this school.





A second point of interest is the theoretical implication which arises from the finding of a general homogeneity of response patterns across the three schools. In terms of the findings of this sample, the adolescent value structure seems to be a pervasive phenomenon, a constant rather than a variable in high schools of different SES composition. This finding undercuts the suggestion that peer subcultures in different high schools, and the attitudes and values they uphold, might be the source of variations observed in studies examining school SES effects. The peer group does seem to influence behaviour in this study, but only in one school, but these differences tend to be erased when individual SES is controlled. Values, or reward structures, are not differentiated in relation to peers, in terms of either individual or school SES. These findings suggest, then, that sophisticated controls will have to be combined with broadly conceived studies if the 'peer subculture' is to be identified as the intervening variable which mediates a school effect.

These analyses contribute information to two other subjects of controversy in the literature, the question of adult-peer value differences, and the related question of anti-academic peer values. The evidence of this section of the study suggests that both the adult and adolescent society offer the greatest rewards to students who excel in both the academic and extracurricular dimensions of school life (90% for parents and teachers, 75% for the peer group). Finally, while many individual students state that extracurricular activities are more personally rewarding, the majority of students agree that academic activities are their central interest, and roughly one third of the sample respond positively to the question worded in terms of expectancy-consistency theory. The anti-academic attitude is essentially an individual disposition, not a subcultural attitude in these findings. As well, it is a disposition more often reported by younger students. As the link between education and later life becomes clear, students tend to emphasize the academic sphere as the more important. (4)





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## C H A P T E R     S I X

### FINDINGS: MAJOR INDEPENDENT INFLUENCES ON DEPENDENT VARIABLES

In this last section of findings, results of the analyses of major independent variables, SES, grades, and parental encouragement and the contextual variable of school SES, are examined in relation to occupational and educational goals. The variable Participation is then examined in relation to occupational and educational goals. Finally, the finding that Participation has the strongest influence on those students without other resources, students of low SES background with low grades and low parental encouragement, is tested, as this was a major finding reported in three American studies. In a word, this section presents the analysis of data and discussion of the findings with respect to Hypotheses III through VII.

### DISTRIBUTION OF DEPENDENT VARIABLES IN THE SAMPLE

Before proceeding to discuss specific relationships of independent and dependent variables, it is useful to consider the distributions of the dependent variables across the sample in themselves. Because the sample included students from the ninth and eleventh year levels, Grades IX and XI, and not senior level (Grade XII) students, questions concerning occupational aspirations and expectations are somewhat remote from the everyday concerns of the respondents. It can therefore be anticipated that expressed occupational goals will be less well formulated and less realistic. In Ginzberg's term, these responses will



probably have a higher 'fantasy' content.<sup>(1)</sup> This seems to be the case for this sample, in that fully 85% of students across the sample report that they aspire to occupations which fall into the first three deciles of the Blishen scale. Blishen reports that 17% of the Canadian work force, as of 1961, were classified as working in these categories.<sup>(2)</sup> This high percentage is modified somewhat when students are asked to reassess their answers in terms of the practical considerations which impinge upon the achievement of these goals, but still, 76% of students in the sample report high occupational expectations.

Questions concerning educational goals are more relevant and immediate to the subjects in this sample. Grade XI students must make the important decisions concerning their educational careers within one year, and for ninth graders, the climate and concerns of the school make these questions current, if not central. As well, Grade IX is a crucial stage in one's educational career because it is at this stage that a young person for the first time is freed from the legal obligation to be in school, regardless of his own wishes or those of his family. For these reasons, the realism of responses vis-a-vis further education might be expected to be quite high in this sample, and, by implication, the responses should be lower than those reported for occupational goals. The observed frequencies fit this predicted pattern. A generally high percentage of students aspires to complete university degrees, 70%; this figure drops to 56% for educational expectations. In the report that follows, these frequencies need to be kept in mind. Because occupational goals are skewed for the sample, and statements ultimately refer to a 15 to 25% spread, analysis of these responses will be somewhat less elaborate. Differences in educational orientations, on the other hand, are quite meaningfully studied in the light of their broad distribution throughout the sample.



# INDIVIDUAL SES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE OF EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL GOALS

H III: The higher the individual SES of the student,  
the higher will be his occupational and educa-  
tional goals.

The best documented relationship in the literature of aspirations and expectations is that found to occur between individual SES and these dependent variables.<sup>(3)</sup> In this study SES is found to be positively related with the four dependent variables of goals, in all cases at a statistical level of significance beyond the .01 level of probability (Table 10, page 98 ). In terms of occupational aspirations and expectations gammas are positive and sizeable, (.400 and .312, respectively). High SES students more frequently report high occupational aspirations and expectation, 89% and 79%, than do low SES students, 75% and 62%. In terms of the relative/absolute mobility distinction of Empey, then, high SES students have higher occupational goals in absolute terms, but if the percentages reported are read as relative, the level of mobility aspirations and expectations among low SES students is very high, compared with the occupational status of their fathers.<sup>(4)</sup> In view of Blishen's analysis, even granting that the labour force is experiencing general upward mobility, optimism can be said to run high in the minds of students in the sample. Interestingly enough, though, despite the 'unreality' of these stated goals, SES background can be seen to have the effect of separating aspiration levels by 10% and expectation levels by 13%, even at this very tentative stage.

SES is seen to be influencing educational aspirations and expectations quite strongly as well. ( Table 10.) Eighty-one percent of high SES students say they hope to finish college, and 73% expect to do so, while only 58% of low SES students aspire to this end, and just under 40% expect degrees. Gammas are positive and strong, (.517 and





TABLE 10  
INDIVIDUAL SES BY EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL GOALS

Occupational Aspirations	INDIVIDUAL SES			Educational Aspirations	INDIVIDUAL SES		
	High	Low	Total		High	Low	Total
High	88.5(138)	75.3(110)	82.1(248)	High	81.4(127)	58.2(85)	70.2(212)
Low	8.3(13)	22.6(33)	15.2(46)	Low	18.6(29)	41.8(61)	29.8(90)
Total	48.5(151)	46.2(143)	97.5(294)	Total	51.7(156)	48.3(146)	100.0(302)

$$\gamma = .400$$
$$\chi^2 = 12.03 \quad df = 2 \quad p = .01$$

non-response = 8

$$\gamma = .517$$
$$\chi^2 = 19.38 \quad df = 1 \quad p = .01$$

Occupational Expectations	INDIVIDUAL SES			Educational Aspirations	INDIVIDUAL SES		
	High	Low	Total		High	Low	Total
High	78.2	62.3(91)	70.5(213)	High	72.4(113)	39.7(58)	56.6(171)
Low	14.1(22)	30.8(45)	22.2(67)	Low	27.6(43)	60.3(88)	43.4(131)
Total	44.0(144)	42.5(136)	92.7(280)	Total	51.7(156)	48.3(146)	100.0(302)

$$\gamma = .312$$
$$\chi^2 = 12.27 \quad df = 2 \quad p = .01$$

non-response = 22

$$\gamma = 5.99$$
$$\chi^2 = 32.85 \quad df = 1 \quad p = .01$$



.599), stronger in fact than those observed for occupational goals.

The pattern of gammas observed is interesting. SES is found to have more impact on aspirations than on expectations in terms of occupational goals, which suggests that while occupational horizons are a function of family background, students see their eventual status more as a function of their own initiative than of background resources. The magnitude of gamma grows for educational aspirations, and gets larger again for educational aspirations. The suggestion is that aspirations are differentially distributed along socio-economic lines, a finding congruent with Rehberg's discussion<sup>(5)</sup>; further, that high SES students are confident that they will realize their aims, (9% separates aspirations and expectations) and that this certainty is notably absent among low SES students. (Expectations drop 18% from aspirations).

Finally, looking at the four distributions in terms of the feasibility of plans (Table 10), high SES students seem to be generally more realistic. If one takes as given for the moment that high occupational status is a function of high educational achievement, only 6% of high SES students expect to complete a level of education which may not provide them with the occupational status they expect (78% expect high occupational status, 72% expect degrees) whereas 20% of low SES students might find themselves under-equipped educationally (62% versus 39%).

#### SCHOOL SES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE OF EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL GOALS

H IV: Controlling individual SES, the higher the SES composition of the high school, the higher will be the educational and occupational goals of its students.



In analyzing the relationships of the contextual variable to the four dependent variables, the direct effect was first examined, then, controlling individual SES, the independent effect of school SES was tested. The results of these analyses do not completely support the hypothesis. Observed gamma values for the association of school SES and the dependent variables were: .252 for occupational aspirations, .214 for occupational expectations, .142 for educational aspirations and .269 for educational expectations (Table 11, page 101 ). All gammas are positive, and the hypothesized relationship is clearly observable in examining the high SES and low SES schools, but the percentages reported in the middle SES school show that occupational goals are highest in this school, a finding which does not support the hypothesis, and percentage differences on all four dependent variables are small. These factors no doubt account for the low observed gammas, though differences are significant in three of four relationships (excluding educational aspirations).

Controlling for the effect of individual SES reduced these gamma values quite sharply. (Table 12, page 102 ). Among high SES students, the gammas for the relationship of school SES and the dependent variables are: .239 for occupational aspirations, .028 for occupational expectations, .071 for educational aspirations and  $-.014$  for educational expectations. Again, reports from the middle SES school do not fit the direction of the hypothesized relationship, in that both occupational and educational goals are higher among high SES students in this school than in the high SES school. The frequencies reported for the high SES and low SES school support the hypothesis, but chi square values for educational goals do not differ from those expected by chance alone.

Among low SES students, (Table 12), the observed distributions support the hypothesis in direction throughout the table, (with the exception of a higher level of educational aspirations in the low SES school, and lower educational expectations in the middle SES school). Gamma values are still low, and in one relationship, negative: .069 for



TABLE 11

SCHOOL SES AND STUDENT GOALS

Occupational		SCHOOL				Educational		SCHOOL			
Aspirations	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	Total	Aspirations	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	Total		
High	87.2(102)	88.6(78)	76.4(68)	84.4(248)	High	73.8(90)	70.8(63)	64.8(59)	70.2(212)		
Low	12.8(15)	11.4(10)	23.6(21)	15.6(46)	Low	26.2(32)	39.2(26)	35.2(32)	29.8(90)		
Total	39.8(117)	29.9(88)	30.3(89)	100.0(294)	Total	40.4(122)	29.5(89)	30.1(91)	100.0(302)		
gamma = .252											
x <sup>2</sup> = 6.19    2 df    p = .04											
Occupational		SCHOOL				Educational		SCHOOL			
Expectations	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	Total	Expectations	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	Total		
High	77.8(84)	85.7(72)	64.8(57)	76.1(213)	High	66.4(81)	52.8(47)	47.3(43)	56.6(171)		
Low	22.2(24)	14.3(12)	35.2(31)	23.9(67)	Low	33.6(41)	47.2(42)	52.7(48)	43.4(131)		
Total	38.6(108)	30.0(84)	31.4(88)	100.0(280)	Total	40.4(122)	29.5(89)	30.1(91)	100.0(302)		
gamma = .214											
x <sup>2</sup> = 10.63    2 df    p = .004											
gamma = .269											
x <sup>2</sup> = 8.52    2 df    p = .01											





TABLE 12

OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL GOALS BY SCHOOL SES, CONTROLLING INDIVIDUAL SES

HIGH INDIVIDUAL SES						LOW INDIVIDUAL SES					
Occupational Aspirations			Total			Occupational Aspirations			Total		
High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES
High	92.1(70)	96.0(48)	80.0(20)	91.4(138)	High	78.0(32)	78.0(30)	75.0(48)	76.9(110)		
Low	7.9(6)	4.0(2)	20.0(5)	8.6(13)	Low	22.9(9)	21.1(8)	25.0(16)	23.1(33)		
Total	50.3(76)	33.1(50)	16.6(25)	100.0(151)	Total	28.7(41)	26.6(38)	44.8(64)	100.0(143)		
gamma = .239			p = .06			gamma = .069			p = .88		
Occupational Expectations			Total			Occupational Expectations			Total		
High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES
High	81.7(58)	97.9(47)	68.0(17)	84.7(122)	High	70.3(26)	69.4(25)	63.5(40)	66.9(91)		
Low	18.3(13)	2.1(1)	32.0(8)	15.3(22)	Low	29.7(11)	30.6(11)	36.5(23)	33.1(45)		
Total	49.3(71)	33.3(48)	17.4(25)	100.0(144)	Total	27.2(37)	26.5(36)	46.3(63)	100.0(136)		
gamma = .028			p = .002			gamma = .116			p = .73		
Educational Aspirations			Total			Educational Aspirations			Total		
High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES
High	81.3(65)	86.3(44)	72.0(18)	81.4(127)	High	59.5(25)	50.5(19)	62.1(41)	58.2(85)		
Low	18.8(15)	13.7(7)	28.0(7)	18.6(29)	Low	40.5(17)	50.0(19)	37.9(25)	41.8(61)		
Total	51.3(80)	32.7(51)	16.0(25)	100.0(156)	Total	28.8(42)	26.0(38)	45.2(66)	100.0(146)		
gamma = .071			p = .32			gamma = .066			p = .47		
Educational Expectations			Total			Educational Expectations			Total		
High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES
High	71.3(57)	76.5(39)	68.0(17)	72.4(113)	High	57.1(24)	21.1(8)	39.4(26)	39.7(58)		
Low	28.8(23)	23.5(12)	32.0(8)	27.6(43)	Low	42.9(18)	78.9(30)	60.6(40)	60.3(88)		
Total	51.3(80)	32.7(51)	16.0(25)	100.0(156)	Total	28.8(42)	26.0(38)	45.2(66)	100.0(146)		
gamma = .014			p = .69			gamma = .179			p = .004		



occupational aspiration, .116 for occupational expectations,  $-.066$  for educational aspirations, .179 for educational expectations. In view of these low values, and the small percentage differences observed, Hypothesis IV must be rejected.

In examining only the high SES school and the low SES school, the hypothesized relationship is observable in seven out of eight relationships (excepting educational aspirations for low SES students), (Table 12). The middle SES school is the one which fairly consistently throws off the relationships, thus reducing gamma values. Inasmuch as the high and low SES schools include ninth year students, whereas middle SES school students sampled were all from Grade XI, the possibility arises that ninth graders' 'fantasy' responses are suppressing or distorting the relationship. Unfortunately, the occurrence of empty cells in both the high SES and low SES schools when SES and grade level were controlled simultaneously, precluded the testing of this possibility, but an examination of the tables undercuts, to an extent, the likelihood of this explanation being borne out. Since among high SES students, reported frequencies are lower than those of students in the middle SES school, high SES ninth graders would have to be consistently understating goals to create these observed low percentages, particularly in educational goals. On the other hand, low SES ninth graders in the low SES school would have to be having an inflationary effect on the observed distribution. The argument would have to rest on an explanation of the inconsistencies observed in the element of 'fantasy' in stated goals: that is, why high SES ninth graders state unrealistically low aspirations and expectations, and why low SES ninth graders state unrealistically high aspirations and expectations. In a word, the specifying conditions of 'fantasy' choice would need elaboration. In this sense, then, while the possibility that grade level is confounding the relationship is not disqualified outright, the process by which the grade level variable is having this effect would need to be complex and elaborate. The nature of the data in the present study, however, did not permit the testing of



this possibility.\*

In conclusion, then, within the limitations of the sample selected for study in this research, the effect of school SES composition reported by Boyle, Michael and others, was not observed.<sup>(6)</sup> In technical terms, using the statistic gamma, the percentage reduction of error of prediction of order on the dependent variables from order on the school SES variable is negligible. Differences in goals are still observable when the influence of individual SES is controlled, but the percentages and gamma values do not permit ascribing these differences to the contextual variable chosen for examination here. Organizational variables, such as grading mechanisms, failure rate levels, etcetera, might be contributing to observed differences, and personal variables not controlled in this analysis might be the source of variation. But school SES is not operating powerfully or consistently enough to be identified as the source of these fluctuations. The study of contextual effects, from the evidence of this research, while complex and demanding methodologically, is still an interesting and potentially fruitful one.

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\* A simpler explanation, of course, would pinpoint the reasons why the middle SES school is anomalous in reporting high goals for high SES students, (i.e. heterogeneity of composition with one SES group dominant) but the evidence available cannot be seen to serve this end.





## ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE(GRADES) AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES OF EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL GOALS

H V: The higher the academic performance(grades) of a student, the higher will be his educational and occupational goals.

A second independent variable analyzed in terms of educational and occupational goals was grades, or academic performance.\* In this treatment the variable was dichotomized on the basis of information from the School Board and the University of Alberta, as discussed earlier. The relation of grades and goals was first examined directly, then a further analysis of the relationship was conducted with the effect of individual SES partialled out.

Measured directly, grades are found to be strongly positively related to all four dependent variables at a level of significance below .01 (Table 13, page 106). Ninety-two percent of students reporting high grades have high occupational aspirations, and 86% of high performers report high occupational expectations, as against 74% of low academic performers having high occupational aspirations, and 63% high occupational expectations. Present success or the lack of it can thus be seen to be influencing the ideas of the students about their long range plans and chances for success. The spread between high grades and low is, for aspirations, 18%, and for expectations, 24%, though, as noted earlier, occupational goals are generally high for the sample. (85% and 75%). Gamma values for these relationships are strong. (.612 and .573 respectively).

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\* Spady, in this extracurricular study, identified the variable of academic performance as having the strongest independent positive bearing on the formation and fulfillment of college plans of the variables he included in his study, and it thus became meaningful, in terms of the long run objectives, to examine the variable in this study. (7)









Present academic performance influences educational goals as well, as seen by the strong positive gammas: (.439 and .531). Seventy-nine percent of those reporting high grades have high educational aspirations as against 59% with low grades. In terms of expectations, 69% of the students in the sample who are succeeding academically expect to complete college degrees, as against 40% of those whose grades are below average. The observed percentage differences between aspirations and expectations of high performers and low performers are 10% and 18%. (Table 13).

The distributions become more interesting when the effect of individual SES is controlled, and the relationships of academic performance and the dependent variables are examined. (Table 14, page 108). Present academic performance is definitely one of the factors which students take into account in modifying their aspirations, as gamma values are always higher for expectations than for aspirations in this Table.\* Thus one can predict expectations from grades more accurately than one can predict aspirations. One further general observation which can be made in Table 13, before looking at the distributions, is that the variable grades is seen to have a greater impact among low SES students than among high SES students.

Among high SES students whose academic performance is above average, 96% have high occupational aspirations, and 92% expect to

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\* The Datran on grades for this analysis alone did not take, and the variable 'grades' was not dichotomized, but kept in six categories as coded. The gamma values are thus lower, and probability levels higher (i.e. 10). Inasmuch as this gives an honest picture, and shows relationships still to be strong - the analysis was not redone. In the analysis description, percentages are referred to predominantly.



TABLE 14

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE (GRADES) STUDENT GOALS, INDIVIDUAL SES CONTROLLED

INDIVIDUAL SES GOAL	HIGH SES GRADES			LOW SES GRADES		
	High	Low	Total	High	Low	Total
Occupational Aspirations						
High	95.7(89)	88.7(49)	91.4(138)	90.0(65)	61.0(45)	76.9(110)
Low	4.3(4)	11.3(9)	8.6(13)	10.0(9)	39.0(24)	23.1(33)
Total	61.6(93)	38.4(58)	100.0(151)	51.8(74)	48.3(69)	100.0(143)
	gamma = .372      p = .10			gamma = .450      p = .01		
Occupational Expectations						
High	92.2(83)	74.5(39)	84.7(122)	85.9(54)	49.8(37)	66.9(91)
Low	8.8(7)	25.5(15)	15.3(22)	14.1(15)	50.2(30)	33.1(45)
Total	62.5(90)	35.5(54)	100.0(144)	50.8(69)	49.2(67)	100.0(136)
	gamma = .412      p = .02			gamma = .459      p = .02		
Educational Aspirations						
High	88.2(86)	77.0(41)	81.4(127)	76.1(50)	47.2(35)	58.2(85)
Low	11.8(12)	23.0(17)	18.6(29)	23.9(25)	52.3(36)	41.8(61)
Total	62.8(98)	37.2(58)	100.0(156)	51.4(75)	48.6(71)	100.0(146)
	gamma = .316      p = .02			gamma = .258      p = .15		
Educational Expectations						
High	86.1(80)	54.0(33)	72.4(113)	61.7(39)	22.5(19)	39.7(58)
Low	13.9(18)	46.0(25)	27.6(43)	38.3(36)	77.5(52)	60.3(88)
Total	62.8(98)	37.2(58)	100.0(156)	51.4(75)	49.6(71)	100.0(146)
	gamma = .478      p = .002			gamma = .452      p = .008		



fulfill their aspirations. This frequency is impressive, but the findings that among low academic performers from the same high SES background, 89% have high occupational aspirations and 75% high expectations, qualifies the impression. 'Grades' does distribute these students, particularly in terms of expectations, but the major source of influence seems to be SES. Despite low academic performance, fully 75% of high SES students expect to occupy high SES occupations.

The finding that school's assessment of one's potential seems to have a greater impact on low SES students in their ideas about later life occupational status is deduced from an examination of the percentage distribution of occupational aspirations and expectations among low SES students with high and low grades (Table 14). Ninety percent of low SES students with high grades aspire to high SES occupational levels, 86% expect to achieve these positions. Among low academic performers, 61% have high aspirations, a 29% spread by grade performance, and 50% of low performers expect to occupy high SES positions, a 35% spread. Looking at low academic performers of either SES class, a 25% difference in occupational expectations is observed.

As might be anticipated, Grades is observed to have a strong independent effect on educational goals across the sample (Table 13). Among high SES high academic performers, educational aspirations are very high, 88%, and practical considerations do not noticeably reduce these goals (86%). Seventy-seven percent of low academic performers of high SES background report high educational aspirations, but expectations drop to 54% for these students, a drop of 23%. Thus, among high SES students, grades most strongly influence educational expectations, as the difference between high and low performers expecting college completion is 32%.





Grades were found to influence occupational goals more strongly among low SES students, than among high SES students, and in examining the educational goals of low SES students, this same phenomenon is observed with even greater strength. Seventy-six of the low SES students in the sample who had high grades report having high educational aspirations, as against 47% of low SES students with low grades, a 29% spread. Finally, 61% of low SES students expect to finish college if they are maintaining high grades in school, as against 23% of low SES students who are failing - 38% spread in terms of academic performance.

The implication seems to be that the experience of being judged a failure by the formal school system, through its grading mechanisms, can have a strong negative influence on future occupational expectations, but particularly on educational expectations. This is observed very strongly among low SES students, but the relationship among high SES students must be noted. Conversely, these judgements can have a positive influence, as seen in the finding that 62% of the low SES students with good grades expect to complete degrees, as against 54% of high SES students with poor grades. Thus, in terms of more immediate goals, educational goals, the positive effect of good academic performance tends to erase the differences which develop among students of different SES background.



PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES  
OF EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL GOALS

H VI: The higher the degree of parental encouragement a student receives to further his education beyond high school, the higher will be his educational and occupational goals.

The next independent variable examined in relation to the four dependent variables was parental encouragement to continue education beyond the high school level.\* This variable as independent influence is theoretically grounded in Kemper's reference group theory of achievement, which postulates that parents, as both normative and audience group, can create the conditions wherein a student wants to achieve.<sup>(8)</sup> If education, and further education, is a value of the parents, the student can be led to adopt the plan for university as his own goal. Brookover, Bell, Rehberg and Westby, and Kahl, among others, have documented the relationship in the empirical setting.<sup>(9)</sup> In this particular research, the relationship was found to be quite strong, and results of the independent analysis are presented in Table 15, page 112 .

Using Rehberg's technique of assigning scores to eight statements ranked in terms of strength of encouragement from both father and mother, a seven point rank order was generated. This was dichotomized into high and low encouragement.

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\* Only Rehberg's questions (#10 and #11), are reported in this analysis. Spady's question (#15) was not analyzed, and the analysis of cumulative sources of encouragement (#16) showed no statistically significant differences across schools.



TABLE 15

## PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT AND EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL GOALS

Occupational Aspirations	PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT			Educational Aspirations	PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT		
	High	Low	Total		High L	Low	Total
High	88.0(147)	79.5(101)	84.4(248)	High	76.0(130)	62.6(82)	70.2(212)
Low	12.0(20)	20.0(26)	15.6(46)	Low	24.0(41)	37.4(49)	29.8(90)
Total	56.8(167)	43.2(127)	100.0(294)	Total	56.6(171)	43.4(131)	100.0(302)

$$\gamma = .308 \quad p = .04$$
$$\gamma = .309 \quad p = .01$$

Occupational Expectations	PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT			Educational Expectations	PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT		
	High	Low	Total		High	Low	Total
High	83.0(132)	66.9(81)	76.1(312)	High	63.7(109)	47.3(62)	56.6(171)
Low	17.0(27)	33.1(40)	23.9(67)	Low	36.3(62)	52.7(69)	43.4(131)
Total	56.8(159)	43.2(121)	100.0(280)	Total	56.6(171)	43.4(131)	100.0(302)

$$\gamma = .414 \quad p < .01$$
$$\gamma = .324 \quad p < .01$$





Gamma values of the relationship of encouragement and occupational goals were .308 for occupational aspirations, significant at the .05 level, and .414 for occupational expectations, significant at the .01 level. (Table 15). For the relationship with educational goals and encouragement, the observed gamma values, (.309 and .324) were both significant at the .01 level. Differences in percentage distributions are broad, particularly in relation to educational goals. Seventy-six percent of student who receive high parental encouragement plan to go to college, 64% expect to finish degrees. Among students receiving encouragement measured as low, 63% have high educational aspirations, 48% high educational expectations.

The gamma statistics are, in this analysis, measuring the total influence of the independent variable, but an interesting interaction effect is identified when individual SES is controlled and the impact of the variable is examined in its independent effect. The strength of the relationship is seen to be located almost entire among low SES students. (Table 16, page 114 ).

With the influence of individual SES partialled out, the relationship among high SES students is effectively erased. (Table 16). Gamma values drop to (.084, .180, .048 and .053), and probability levels rise well above the rejection line. Students are split into roughly 60/40 reporting high and low encouragement, but high and low occupational and educational goals are fairly evenly distributed. Ninety-two percent of high SES students reporting high parental encouragement have high occupational aspirations, as against 90% reporting low encouragement. In responses concerning occupational expectations, only 4% separates those reporting high and low parental encouragement. Eighty-three percent of those high SES students reporting high encouragement have high educational aspirations, and 73% report high expectations, as against 78% with low encouragement reporting high educational aspirations,





TABLE 16

PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT AND GOALS, CONTROLLING INDIVIDUAL SES

HIGH INDIVIDUAL SES LOW INDIVIDUAL SES

PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT				PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT			
Occupational Aspirations	High	Low	Total	Occupational Aspirations	High	Low	Total
High	92.0(80)	90.6(58)	91.4(138)	High	83.8(67)	68.3(43)	76.9(110)
Low	8.0(7)	9.4(6)	8.6(13)	Low	16.2(13)	31.7(20)	23.1(33)
Total	57.6(87)	42.4(64)	100.0(151)	Total	55.9(80)	44.1(63)	100.0(143)
gamma = .411      p = .02							
Occupational Expectations				Occupational Expectations			
High	86.7(72)	82.0(50)	84.7(122)	High	78.9(60)	52.7(31)	66.9(91)
Low	13.3(11)	18.0(11)	15.3(22)	Low	21.1(16)	48.3(29)	33.1(45)
Total	57.6(83)	42.4(61)	100.0(144)	Total	55.9(76)	44.1(60)	100.0(136)
gamma = .180      p = .43				gamma = .556      p = .01			
Educational Aspirations				Educational Aspirations			
High	83.3(75)	78.8(52)	81.4(127)	High	67.9(55)	46.2(30)	58.2(85)
Low	16.7(15)	21.2(14)	18.6(29)	Low	32.1(26)	53.8(35)	41.8(61)
Total	57.7(90)	42.3(66)	100.0(156)	Total	55.5(81)	44.5(65)	100.0(146)
gamma = .148      p = .47				gamma = .423      p < .01			
Educational Expectations				Educational Expectations			
High	73.3(66)	71.2(47)	72.4(113)	High	53.1(43)	23.1(15)	39.7(58)
Low	26.7(24)	28.8(19)	27.6(43)	Low	46.9(38)	76.9(50)	60.3(88)
Total	57.7(90)	42.3(66)	100.0(156)	Total	55.5(81)	44.5(65)	100.0(146)
gamma = .053      p = .76				gamma = .581      p < .01			



and 71% high expectations, differences of 5% and 2%. From these distributions, it seems that the fact that parents do not discuss college with the students does not depress college plans. The implication seems to be that a college orientation is so deeply ingrained in the middle class culture, so pervasive, that parents hardly need to verbalize their aspirations for their children.\*

Among low SES students, whether or not parents express their own hopes for their children seems to have a stronger effect on the students' decisions about later life plans (Table 16). In this SES group, the decision to go on to college is more problematic: income which the family presumably can use has to be foregone, decisions must be made as to which children should go to college; in short, the barriers, social and psychological, which Porter has described, are evidently operating among this group.<sup>(10)</sup> Thus the measure of encouragement as designed here seems quite effectively to pinpoint that nucleus of family attitudes which differentiate the upwardly mobile and college oriented from others.

The overall percentage of those reporting high parental encouragement and low is roughly the same as that observed among high SES students, (60/40) but percentage spreads in distributions are broad. Eighty-four percent of low SES students who report high parental encouragement have high occupational aspirations, as against 68% reporting low parental encouragement. When expectations are measured, both percentages drop. Seventy-nine percent of those reporting high encouragement maintain high expectations, as against 52% reporting low encouragement. (Table 16).

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\* Another possibility is that manifestations of parental encouragement, while important, may take a different form among high SES parents, and this question may not have tapped this information.



These percentage differences, 5% and 16%, are a measure of the strength that can be derived by students from parents in terms of long range plans. Gamma values for these relationships are positive and strong: .411 for occupational aspirations, statistically significant at the .05 level, and .556 for occupational expectations, significant at the .01 level. Encouragement, then, is really important at the practical, concrete level, as was reported in Kahl's study.<sup>(11)</sup>

Parental influence on educational goals is also strong, but the generally lower frequencies reported are evidence that other factors (i.e. grades) are operating as well. Sixty-eight percent of students reporting high encouragement have high educational aspirations, 53% report high expectations, as against 46% of low SES students with low encouragement having high educational aspirations, and 23% high educational expectations, when encouragement is low. Expectations drop 15% from aspirations among those reporting high encouragement, and 23% among those reporting low. These percentages are a measure of the extent to which other influences impinge upon students in the formation of goals. The percentage differences between high encouragement and low, 22% for educational aspirations, and 30% for educational expectations, are a measure of the support, or lack of it, which comes from having parents who want students to go on.

Gamma values indicate also that parental encouragement influences expectations more than it does aspirations: .423 for educational aspirations, significant at the .01 level, .581 for expectations, also significant at the .01 level.

In summary then, the promise of financial and psychological support from the family operates strongly at the practical level, but aspirations are influenced as well. The effect is observed only among low SES students: the general college orientation among parents of high SES students is assumed by their children, and does not need verbalization.





Plans for college among low SES students are clearly more problematic, and the presence or absence of parental encouragement, as with success or failure as judged by school officials, has a more crucial impact on the formation of these goals among this low SES group.

#### PARTICIPATION AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

H VII: There will be a positive correlation between participation in extracurricular activities and educational and occupational plans, holding constant SES, grades and parental encouragement.

In terms of the aims of the present study, a crucial relation to be examined was that between participation and occupational and educational goals. The analysis of the relation of Participation and the dependent variables, controlling individual SES, grades and parental encouragement, at the ordinal level could not be undertaken for the entire sample because of sample size necessary. The testing of a third order correlation is feasible enough at the interval level, but sample size must be very large if such a relationship is to be tested at the ordinal level, as the table thus constructed would have 16 cells. In the present study, the independent relations of participation and the dependent variables were tested using Pearson's Product Moment Correlation as the statistic, and a more precise analysis was conducted at the ordinal level.

The correlations of participation, measured intervally in terms of total number of activities reported, and the dependent variables, for the sample, were negligible: .14, .03, .05, and .11, for occupational and educational aspirations and expectations. Correlations were found to be negligible as well when the same analysis was undertaken for each school. A test of the relationship was then run at the ordinal level





on the 63 cases wherein students reported low SES, low grades and low parental encouragement, to test the precise intriguing finding concerning the influence of participation, that low resources students seemed to profit most from such activities in the formation of goals. The independent variable, after a close examination of cell frequencies, was operationalized in terms of 'yes' and 'no'. The findings of this analysis are presented in Table 17, page 119.

The results are rather difficult to interpret. In terms of occupational aspirations and expectations, cell n's of 1 and 2 undermine the strength of any interpretation. Percentage frequencies seem to support the hypothesis, but had five or so more cases of low resources participants been available for analysis, this direction might have been reversed. Regarding educational aspirations, the direction of the distribution supports the hypothesis, but the gamma value, (the independent variable construed as quasi-ordinal) is only moderate, and the probability level is not significant. In educational expectations, a negative gamma is reported. Thus it seems legitimate to describe the 15 cases of low SES students with low grades and low encouragement, as students who are highly unrealistic about their future occupational status. Educational aspirations are fairly high for this group, but the very low educational expectations reported indicate that they realize that their present academic performance is not at all adequate to gain admittance to college. Participation seems not to enhance their ideas about future education, but rather to provide a relief from otherwise unrewarding school activity. These findings indicate a reversal of the American findings.

Those students who are also low on other resources which support the formation of high aspirations but who do not participate, report higher expectations than do participants. The suggestion might be that this group expends more energy in trying to upgrade academic performance, and, unlike extracurricular participants, have not given up the academic







fight. Thus, although the test is limited by the low number of cases in some table cells, on the basis of this evidence Hypothesis VII must be rejected.



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## C H A P T E R   S E V E N

### CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In this final Chapter of the thesis, the aims of the study are reiterated, the major findings of the study summarized, and conclusions and implications for further research discussed.

### AIMS OF THE STUDY

The essential purpose of this investigation was to provide information concerning the extracurricular dimension of school activities derived from a sample of Canadian high school students, since the findings of investigations conducted in the American sociocultural context cannot be accepted as valid until such cross-national investigations have been accomplished. Specific aims of the present research were divided into three parts. The first interest was stimulated by the finding, frequently reported in the American literature, that socioeconomic status was closely related to the student's participation in the extracurriculum. This relationship was investigated in three high schools of different socioeconomic composition, to test the finding at both the individual SES and contextual SES level. The second aim of the thesis attempted to round out this investigation by examining students' perceptions as to how different reference groups reward participation in both the academic and extracurricular spheres of high school activity, as well as students' own attitudes toward the two dimensions. Responses of students to series of twenty-four statements postulating various reward structures,



were analyzed in terms of individual SES and school SES in order that this aspect of the research might broaden the investigation undertaken in the first part. The third aim of the research was to test relevant empirical findings reported in the literature concerning educational and occupational goals of high school students. In this section, the relationship of individual SES, School SES, Grades and Parental Encouragement and the dependent variables of adolescent later life goals were examined in some depth. Then, the relationship of Participation in the extracurricular activities of the school and educational and occupational goals was examined for the first time using a sample of Canadian high school students.

## FINDINGS

In the first part of the thesis, when individual SES was cross-classified with Participation measured in terms of the number of activities reported for various types of activities, the variables were not found to be related, except at one or two points. (Table 4). When Participation was measured in terms of 'yes' or 'no', and Grade Level controlled, a relationship was found in one school of the three, the middle SES school. (Table 7). The importance of this finding is strengthened by two considerations: the fact that the effect of individual SES is cumulative, and thus more likely to be manifested at higher grade-year levels,<sup>(1)</sup> and the fact that the Grade XI students in this school make up roughly one half of the Grade XI students sampled. Thus hypothesis I, which postulated a relationship between individual SES and participation, was tentatively accepted, with the qualification that the relationship was found to hold only under certain specifying conditions.



No relationship between School SES and Participation was observed, and Hypothesis II was rejected. The extracurricular activities offered in the school were found to be related directly to School SES, participation patterns varied across the schools, but the relationships were not pronounced enough to support the hypothesis.

In the second part of the thesis reward structures were examined and findings are of interest in two senses; in terms of SES determinants of participation, and in terms of points of controversy which have received continued examination in the literature. (Table 8). When responses were examined in terms of individual SES, differences were pronounced only in the middle SES school, where high SES students gave evidence of a more positive extracurricular orientation than did the low SES students. Behaviour and attitudes thus were congruent in these findings.

No differences in response patterns were observed when the data were studied in terms of School SES. On the whole, the majority of students in all three schools reported that parents and teachers encourage extracurricular participation and most highly reward success in both the academic and extracurricular arenas. Peer group attitudes were perceived by students in all three schools in much the same way. Students reported that status among peers as well, accrued most strongly to those students who succeeded in both academic and extracurricular undertakings. An athletic bias which appeared in one response (#14), on further analysis, seemed to be located among Grade IX rather than Grade XI students. (Table 9). As well moderately high agreement in responses to another question (#16 - Your status among students has nothing to do with grades or extracurricular activities) seemed to indicate that within-school activities cannot be construed as the only source of status among adolescents. Finally, responses concerning personal feelings suggest that when asked to choose explicitly between one sphere or the other, the major focus of interest in the high school is on academic concerns, particularly among Grade XI students in this sample.





In the final section of the thesis, several strong relationships were identified between more frequently investigated variables and the dependent variables of educational and occupational goals. Individual SES was closely related to later life plans, but when School SES was examined, controlling the influence of individual SES, no relationship was found between this variable and later life plans.

The variable of academic performance (grades) had a strong influence on plans of both high SES and low SES students when the effect of individual SES was controlled.

Parental encouragement as well was found to be related to the dependent variables. When the variable individual SES was controlled, the relationship was all but erased among high SES students, but remained strong for the low SES students in the sample. Finally, no relationship was evident between the variable of Participation in the extracurriculum and educational and occupational goals, when the data were analyzed at the interval level. When the relation was examined at the ordinal level, for those students who were classified as low on personal resources such as SES, Grades and Parental Encouragement, table cell sizes were severely depleted, and interpretation was quite tentative. But the picture which emerged did not support the American finding. Among these students, those who participated had lower educational expectations than those who did not participate. The implication seemed to be that these participants had given up the idea of continuing their educational careers, and participation thus was diversion. Non-participants, who had higher educational expectations seem still to perceive their educational careers as areas in which they could succeed.





## CONCLUSIONS AND LIMITATIONS

### Part One

The general conclusion that can be reached concerning Hypotheses I and II seems to be that socioeconomic factors do not have as strong an influence on the development of patterns of behaviour in schools in the Canadian context as has been demonstrated in the American high school. On the whole, most students in this sample participated in the extra-curricular sphere of activities in their school regardless of individual SES background. As well, although the three schools in the sample differed markedly in terms of socioeconomic composition (Table 2) participation was high in all three schools. Thus the socio-psychological benefits which are thought to accrue from such participation are available to all students in the school. This said, the conclusion must immediately be qualified to some extent in view of the partial support found for Hypothesis I in the middle SES school, (Table 7) where low SES students were found to report participation with less frequency than high SES students. The conclusion that socioeconomic factors have no influence in the day-to-day activity of school life is not warranted by these results, and while the evidence suggests that such influences are somewhat less pervasive in the Canadian context, nonetheless the "middle-class" bias of the school, reported in the literature by Hollingshead and others,<sup>(2)</sup> was found to hold true, at least to a certain extent, within the Canadian high school as well.

### Part Two

Several conclusions can be stated regarding the second part of this research. Students' perceptions and personal feelings, as was the case



with behaviour, were not found to vary in terms of the variable of individual SES, nor was a school effect identified. This dimension of the study as well indicates that personal background variables (SES) do not operate as strongly in the Canadian high school as in the American. But, to the extent that individual attitudes were differentiated in terms of individual SES in one school, this statement must be also qualified to some extent. The Canadian situation, in terms of the findings at two points in this study, is neither parallel to, nor antithetical to, that identified in the American high school. In this sense, the entire question of SES influences in the school is still a problematic one.

In this second part of this research, regarding the question of the polarity of adult and adolescent value system, and the question of the anti-academic character of the peer group, the conclusion is that American studies seem not validly generalizable cross-nationally. The findings of this research concur with those of Elkin and Westley, Zentner and Parr, and Freisen in suggesting that no such polarity is evident, nor are students notably anti-academic.<sup>(3)</sup> The school thus is perceived by adults as an institution where students are exposed to learning experiences beyond those which are purely academic, an institution where social skills, management skills and democratic skills develop side by side with intellectual abilities. Academic pursuits must not be neglected, but on the whole both parents and teachers encourage students to get involved and work with peers in this dimension of learning. As well, across the three schools, the majority of students, particularly Grade XI students (Table 9), when asked to choose, cited academic pursuits as of greater importance for them personally.

The conclusions which relate to this second part of the research are stated in awareness of the limitations imposed by the methodological procedures employed in the study. The statements formulated to probe these attitudes and perceptions have not been subjected to statistical



testing for either construct validity or reliability, and direct statistical comparisons with previous work cannot be made. The interpretations of responses for the individual statements are also open to subjective biases. But the procedure was productive of a wealth of information, interpreted in terms of broad general profiles, and thus the procedure is hopefully justified in an exploratory study.

### Part Three

The one point at which the conclusions of these findings are in agreement with those of American studies was in the section concerned with the influence of personal variables, individual SES, academic performance and parental encouragement, upon the formation of high school students' educational and occupational goals. The study of these influences is clearly as crucial for Canadian society as for the American.

Concerning individual SES (Table 10), high SES students clearly have higher educational and occupational goals, measured, referring to Empey's distinction, in absolute terms.<sup>(4)</sup> Low SES students' goals, although lower in absolute terms, did not seem to be 'class-bound' as Hollingshead once suggested.<sup>(5)</sup> No value differences, or differences in world view seem to limit the majority of these students, though the awareness of sparse background resources conditions even aspirations. Low SES students are aware that education can serve as the means to high occupational status, but what they perceive as problematic is the access they will have to this means of mobility.<sup>(6)</sup>

One practical consideration which clearly impinges on the formation of later life goals is present academic performance or grades. (Table 13). The school's assessment of ability seems to be internalized as a central criterion by which low SES students in particular, measure their own academic chances. Grades among this group can act either as





a strong support or as a factor which severely limits aspirations. Interestingly enough, only educational expectations are sharply reduced by low grades among high SES students. Those students of high SES background who are failing in their academic work, realize their tenuous position in terms of future education, but since occupational goals as well as educational aspirations remain quite high, the suggestion is that their self-concepts of ability, their ideas of their own worth, have strong supports from areas other than the school.

Regarding parents encouragement, (Table 15, 16) the conclusions here closely agree with the early findings of Joseph Kahl, in his study of 'common-man boys'.<sup>(7)</sup> Among high SES students, the importance of education is so deeply internalized that parents need not verbalize their aspirations for their children, but the choice to continue or not is still problematic for low SES students. It is essential for low SES students that parents support the desire to get to university. Still, parental encouragement does not generate the same confidence as does the fact that a student is getting good grades. The school's assessment of the student's ability is in this sense more crucial than that of parents, in raising educational aspirations and expectations of low SES students.

Concerning the relationships of Participation in the extra-curriculum and later life goals, other factors controlled, conclusions are necessarily tentative, but the general suggestion seems to be that students low on other resources engage in such activities as a relief from tedium and failure, and have relinquished the idea of succeeding in the academic sphere. Low resource non-participants on the other hand, had higher educational expectations, (Table 17) and thus seemed to be concentrating on improving their academic performance. These conclusions thus contradict those of Spady, Schafer and Armer, and others.<sup>(8)</sup> This particular conclusion is quite tentative though, since the purposive sample selected for the study included students





from three schools of different SES background, and when the test of the specific hypothesis concerning participation was undertaken, table cell sizes were quite low. (Table 17 ). As well, the theoretical framework which supports this particular empirical study needs further elaboration.

### School SES

One final conclusion concerns the investigation of the contextual variable of school SES. The variable was not found to be related independently to either patterns of participation, reward structures or to the variables of educational and occupational goals. These findings though, are subject to limitations imposed by sampling. Financial and methodological considerations made it impossible to extend the study over more than three schools, and these could not be randomly sampled if the purposes of the research were to be accomplished. In one major study of contextual effects, seventy Canadian high schools were sampled, and a school SES effect was identified.<sup>(9)</sup> Thus the negative findings of this study are quite tentative.

### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

One major recommendation emerging from this study is that there is a distinct need for Canadian sociology to describe precisely and fully the influence of personal background variables such as SES, on the day-to-day behaviour of students within the school. The notion of 'the middle class bias' of the school, widely discussed in American sociological literature, has not been systematically reinvestigated



in the Canadian setting. The evidence of this study suggests that these findings are not entirely generalizable, nor can they be rejected outright. It is essential that such a task be undertaken, particularly, in view of the fact that in the long run, i.e. in the formation of educational and occupational goals, these variables have fully as strong an influence on the life-chances of Canadian students as on Americans.

A similar recommendation seems in order concerning research into the question of subcultures and peer groups in Canada. The 'youth culture' model, adopted from American sociology has never proved fully adequate to the description of Canadian adolescent life, and it is time that this description was attempted, using fresh, well-conceived theoretical frameworks and concepts, built on the empirical findings indigineous to this particular sociocultural setting. As well, the scope of this description should be expanded, to proceed beyond the question of 'academics - athletics' and 'peer-parents' hydraulics<sup>(10)</sup>, to probe more relevant questions of how adolescents invest their energies, i.e. political and social awareness and involvement, career consciousness, etcetera.

The area of contextual effects needs investigation as well, but such research is perhaps better conducted on a larger scale than was possible here. The evidence of this study pointed to the possibility that homogeneous SES schools might differ from those of heterogeneous SES composition, in terms of the impact of background variables or within school activity, but these findings could be a function of non-random sampling. Yet, to arrive at a random sample in which school SES is well distributed implies a rather grand scale of investigation. A fully adequate investigation at the contextual level would most certainly have to be independently financed, thus, contextual level research is not the most feasible area of investigation for students.



One further research recommendation can be suggested regarding Participation and later life goals. If a study took as its aim the testing of this specific relation ~~exclusively~~, a purposive sample of low SES students would allow the researcher to operationalise Participation in various ways, as well as to test various possible combinations of resources in their effect on college plans.

One final recommendation which is underscored at every point in the present research is that the study of educational goals of high school students, their formation and factors which enhance or depress their formulation, continues to be a pressing and crucial area of investigation for Canadian sociology. Thus far American sociologists have investigated this area much more extensively and successfully than have their Canadian counterparts. It is essential, if sociological insight is to prove valuable for the society which supports its development, that attention should focus on the institution of education, where the societal influences which ultimately will circumscribe the day-to-day lives of high school students as they move into the labour market and the body politic, are in their formative stages.





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## APPENDIX A

## Questionnaire

Extracurricular Activities in the high SES School

Extracurricular Activities in the middle SES School

Extracurricular Activities in the low SES School



## APPENDIX A

### High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

Private and Confidential

Thomas McGrath  
University of Alberta

Name : \_\_\_\_\_

Grade : \_\_\_\_\_

Course of Study: (Matriculation, Business Ed., General, etc.)

\_\_\_\_\_

Section: \_\_\_\_\_

School: \_\_\_\_\_

Home Room Teacher: \_\_\_\_\_

District you live in: \_\_\_\_\_

Street and Avenue at  
the corner where you  
live (DO NOT write  
your address) : \_\_\_\_\_ (Ave.) \_\_\_\_\_ (Street)

Junior high school from which you graduated: \_\_\_\_\_

#### OBJECTIVES

In Canada, more than 30 percent of all students never finish high school. This means that for our society, the loss of human resources is considerable, and the problems created for those students who do not finish are difficult. In a complex technological society, a better understanding of the influences which effect educational goal decisions is needed, if schools are to ensure that each person is accorded maximum opportunity to develop his potential. The factors which influence his educational goals are many in number and wide in scope, ranging from child-rearing patterns, friendships, the social structure of the high school, participation in school activities, and so on and on.

This study hopes to bring a little understanding to these processes as they work in the Canadian society, by asking questions of students in the Edmonton Separate School System. That is why I, as a researcher at the University of Alberta, ask your cooperation in answering the following questions.



## High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

INSTRUCTIONS

1. I want to assure you that all your responses are completely confidential. Only trained research personnel at the University of Alberta will be permitted to see the questionnaires, and then only for the purpose of transferring the information to punch cards. Your name is needed so that I can include information about grades from your school records.
2. Please answer all of the items in the questionnaire. This improves the quality of the data immensely.
3. Try to answer each item as truthfully and candidly as possible. Exact responses provide a very realistic picture of the school and its students and make the effort really worthwhile.

EXPLANATION OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONNAIRE

The following few items are about your plans for a job and an education. There are two types of questions: LIKE TO questions and EXPECT TO questions. There is an important difference between the two.

A LIKE TO question on jobs, for instance, asks you to choose, from all the jobs you know about, the job you would really LIKE TO have when you finish your education. However, sometimes there is a difference between the job a person would really LIKE TO have, and the job he actually EXPECTS TO have. For example, Bob may really LIKE TO become an aeronautical engineer. But, he knows that he cannot afford the college education which the job of aeronautical engineer requires. So, instead, he actually EXPECTS TO become an aircraft mechanic, a job with aircraft that does not require a college education.

When you answer the questions below, please remember the very important difference between LIKE TO and EXPECT TO questions.



## High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

## Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

1. SUPPOSING you could have the necessary abilities, education, grades, money, etc., what kind of work would you really LIKE TO do after you finish your education? That is, after you get out of highschool, technical, or business college or college? PLEASE BE VERY SPECIFIC.

---

(SPECIFIC NAME OR TITLE OF JOB I would really LIKE TO have).

2. Considering your abilities, grades, money, etc., what kind of WORK do you actually EXPECT TO do after you finish your education? That is, after you get out of high school, technical, business school or college? PLEASE BE VERY SPECIFIC.

---

(SPECIFIC NAME OR TITLE OF JOB I actually EXPECT TO get).

3. SUPPOSING you could have the necessary abilities, grades, money, etc., how far would you really LIKE TO go in SCHOOL?

1. Drop out before completing high school.
2. Graduate from high school.
3. Trade or technical school.
4. Two year business school.
5. Two years of college/university.
6. Four years of college/ university.
7. Graduate school or professional school.





## High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

4. CONSIDERING your abilities, grades, financial resources, etc., how far do you actually EXPECT TO go in SCHOOL?

1. Drop out before completing high school.
2. Graduate from high school.
3. Trade or technical school.
4. Two year business school.
5. Two years of college/university.
6. Four years of college/university.
7. Graduate school or professional school.

QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FAMILY

5. (a) What is your FATHER'S occupation? (Indicate it as accurately as you can, using two words if possible; for example, write "shoe salesman" instead of just "salesman", or write, "electrical engineer" instead of just "engineer". If he is retired or deceased, say what his occupation was.

---

(SPECIFIC NAME OR TITLE OF JOB)

(b) In what kind of company, business or organization does he work?  
(Write it in the space provided below).

---

6. Briefly but precisely DESCRIBE what your FATHER does when he is at work.

7. (a) What is your MOTHER'S occupation? (Indicate it as accurately as you can. (If your mother does not work outside the home, write "housewife".))

(b) How long has your family been living at its present address?

1. Less than one year.
2. One to two years.
3. Between two and three years.
4. More than three years.
5. More than five years.



## High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

8. How much FORMAL EDUCATION does or did your FATHER have?  
PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE.

1. Elementary school.
2. Some high school.
3. High school graduate.
4. Some college, trade, technical or business college.
5. College graduate.
6. Graduate or professional school.

9. How much FORMAL EDUCATION does or did your MOTHER have?  
PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE.

1. Elementary school.
2. Some high school.
3. High school graduate.
4. Some college, trade, technical or business college.
5. College graduate.
6. Graduate or professional school.

10. Which of the following statements is true about your continuing your education beyond high school? PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER IN THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS.

1. My FATHER never urges me to continue my education.
2. My FATHER sometimes urges me to continue my education.
3. My FATHER often urges me to continue my education.
4. My FATHER constantly urges me to continue my education.

11. Which of the following statements is true about your continuing your education beyond high school? PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER IN THE FOLLOWINGS QUESTIONS.

1. My MOTHER never urges me to continue my education.
2. My MOTHER sometimes urges me to continue my education.
3. My MOTHER often urges me to continue my education.
4. My MOTHER constantly urges me to continue my education.



High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

12. Do you have any OLDER brothers OR sisters living at home?
- 1. Yes, older brother(s).
  - 2. Yes, older sister(s).
  - 3. Yes, older brother(s) and sister(s).
  - 4. No.
  - 5. I have no older brother(s) or sister(s).
13. Do you have any OLDER brothers OR sisters going to high school?
- 1. Yes, older brother(s).
  - 2. Yes, older sister(s).
  - 3. Yes, older brother(s) and sister(s).
  - 4. No.
  - 5. I have no older brother(s) or sister(s).
14. Do you have any OLDER brothers or sisters going to, or who have been to University or other post-secondary school?
- 1. Yes, older brother(s).
  - 2. Yes, older sister(s).
  - 3. Yes, older brother(s) and sister(s).
  - 4. No.
  - 5. I have no older brother(s) or sister(s).
15. How many years of schooling do your parents want you to have?
- 1. Some high school.
  - 2. High school diploma.
  - 3. Some training beyond high school.
  - 4. Some college.
  - 5. College degree.
  - 6. Post graduate college work.
16. Who, among the following people, think you should continue your education after high school?

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
1. Parents			
2. Brothers & Sisters			
3. Other relatives			
4. Teachers			
5. Guidance Counselors			
6. Principal or Vice-Principal			
7. Friends in school.			
8. Friends out of school			



## High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

INTRODUCTION TO FINAL SECTION

The following statements are designed to find out how you think about the extracurricular activities of your school, and how you think others see this part of school life. PLEASE CIRCLE O N E of the S I X choices for EACH STATEMENT.

1. My parents are not interested about my grades so much, but want me to excel in extracurricular activities at school.
  1. Strongly agree.
  2. Agree.
  3. Not certain, but probably agree.
  4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
  5. Disagree.
  6. Strongly disagree.
2. My parents like me to participate in various extracurricular activities.
  1. Strongly agree.
  2. Agree.
  3. Not certain, but probably agree.
  4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
  5. Disagree.
  6. Strongly disagree.
3. My parents are probably most pleased if I do well in school work as well as participate in extracurricular activities.
  1. Strongly agree.
  2. Agree.
  3. Not certain, but probably agree.
  4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
  5. Disagree.
  6. Strongly disagree.
4. My parents feel that my academic work suffers if I get involved in extracurricular activities.
  1. Strongly agree.
  2. Agree.
  3. Not certain, but probably agree.
  4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
  5. Disagree.
  6. Strongly disagree.





## High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

5. Extracurricular activities are a waste of time, in the opinion of my parents.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

6. My parents are not interested either way, about whether I participate in extracurricular activities.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

7. A student who does well in the extracurricular activities of the school gets along well with teachers, regardless of his grades.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

8. Teachers approve of well-rounded students: those who get good grades and are active in extracurricular activities.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.



## High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

9. Students in this school are encouraged by the staff to get involved in extracurricular activities.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

10. If you want to stay in the teachers' good books, you had better not get involved in the extracurricular side of school life.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

11. Most teachers are interested only in students' academic performance, and not extracurricular activities.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

12. The way to win the respect of your fellow students in this school is by being very active in extracurricular activities, and not getting too high grades.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

13. The students most respected by fellow students in this school are those who do well in school work and are active in extracurricular activities.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.



## High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

14. You can win more respect in this school, in the eyes of other students, by being a good athlete, than by being either a good student or a leader in other activities.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

15. The best way to gain recognition from fellow students is by getting top grades.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

16. Your status among students in this school has nothing to do with grades or extracurricular activities.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

17. The best way to win status among fellow students is by being both a good student and active in different extra curricular activities.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.



## High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

18. For myself, I get more out of extracurricular activities than out of academic school work.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

19. The more extracurricular activities I am involved in, the better I do, or want to do, in my school work.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

20. What I do in school, outside of actual school work, has nothing to do with my school work.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

21. In school, neither extracurricular activities nor class work interest me.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.





## High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

22. In school my interest is in academic work rather than in extracurricular activities.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

23. Teachers see a distinct difference in extracurricular activities in this school, between athletics and non-athletic activities.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

24. In judging students in this school, teachers show preference for excellence in athletics rather than excellence in non-athletic extracurricular activities.

1. Strongly agree.
2. Agree.
3. Not certain, but probably agree.
4. Not certain, but probably disagree.
5. Disagree.
6. Strongly disagree.

.....

THIS IS THE END. Could you please check that you have filled in Name, Grade, Course (Section), School, etc. on the first page.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION.



Below is a chart listing the extracurricular activities in your school, and columns asking questions about your participation. Please fill in each space, either with a number, a word, or a check, as called for. It is best to fill in responses across the page for each activity.

[illegible]



ACTIVITY

ACTIVITY	I participate in this activity	Amount of time spent per week in hours	I hold an office or position in this activity. (If YES, name it. If NO, write NO).	I have received an award, letter or some recognition in this activity.	I would rate my participation compared to others as :-			
	YES	NO		YES	NO	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
17. <u>Drama Club</u>								
18. <u>Public Speaking</u>								
19. <u>Debating</u>								
20. <u>Art Club</u>								
21. <u>French Club</u>								
22. <u>Religion Club</u> <u>(Liturgy, etc.)</u>								
23. <u>Cafeteria Committee</u>								
24. <u>Science Fair</u>								
25. <u>Junior Achievement</u>								
26. <u>Aviation Club</u>								
<u>ATHLETICS (Inter-School)</u>								
27. <u>Basketball</u>								
28. <u>Volleyball</u>								
29. <u>Football</u>								
30. <u>T.ack and Field</u>								
31. <u>Badminton</u>								
32. <u>Curling</u>								





# High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

17. (continued)

ACTIVITY	I participate in this activity <u>YES</u> <u>NO</u>	Amount of time spent per week in hours	I hold an office or position in this activity. (If YES, name it. If NO, write NO).	I have received an award, letter or some recognition in this activity. <u>YES</u> <u>NO</u>	I would rate my participation compared to others as :- HIGH MEDIUM LOW
<u>ATHLETICS (Within school)</u>					
33. <u>Soccer</u>					
34. <u>Basketball</u>					
35. <u>Fastball</u>					
36. <u>Volleyball</u>					
37. <u>Floor Hockey</u>					
38. <u>Weightlifting</u>					
39. <u>Badminton</u>					
40. <u>Touch Football</u>					
41. <u>Swimming</u>					
42. <u>Hunter Training</u>					
43. <u>Golf Club</u>					
44. <u>Ski Club</u>					
45. <u>Wrestling Club</u>					
<u>OTHER (Activities not listed)</u>					
46. _____					
47. _____					
48. _____					





## High School Educational Goal Questionnaire

17. Below is a chart listing the extracurricular activities in your school, and columns asking questions about your participation. Please fill in each space, either with a number, a word, or a check, as called for. It is best to fill in responses across the page for each activity.
- (If you answer NO to participation in an activity, go on to the next activity).

ACTIVITY	I participate in this activity <u>YES</u> <u>NO</u>	Amount of time spent per week in hours	I hold an office or position in this activity. (If YES, name it. If NO, write NO).	I have received an award, letter or some recognition in this activity. <u>YES</u> <u>NO</u>	I would rate my participation compared to others a <u>HIGH</u> <u>MEDIUM</u> <u>LOW</u>
1. Students' Council					
2. Class Government (class press, room rep.)					
3. Library Assistance					
4. Stage Assistance					
5. Technical Assistance Club					
6. Newspaper					
7. Year Book					
8. Graduation Committee					
9. Science Club					
10. Chess Club					
11. Biology Club					
12. Hobby Club (i.e. stamp collecting)					
13. Drama Club					
14. <del>Decorating</del> Club					
15. Dances					
16. Science Fair					
17. <del>United Nations</del> Club					
18. Junior Achievement Club					



17. (continued)

ACTIVITY	I participate in this activity <u>YES</u> <u>NO</u>	Amount of time spent per week in hours	I hold an office or position in this activity. (If <u>YES</u> , name it. If <u>NO</u> , write NO).	I have received an award, letter or some recognition in this activity. <u>YES</u> <u>NO</u>	I would rate my participation compared to others as: <u>HIGH</u> <u>MEDIUM</u> <u>LOW</u>
----------	--	--	--	--	--

ATHLETICS (Inter-School)

19. Basketball
20. Badminton
21. Weight-lifting
22. Curling
23. Football
24. Track & Field

ATHLETICS (Within School)

25. Soccer
26. Basketball
27. Fastball
28. Volleyball
29. Hockey
30. Floor Hockey
31. Badminton
32. Touch Rugby
33. Swimming
34. Curling

OTHERS (name them)

35. \_\_\_\_\_
36. \_\_\_\_\_
37. \_\_\_\_\_



17. Below is a chart listing the extracurricular activities in your school, and columns asking questions about your participation. Please fill in each space, either with a number, a word, or a check, as called for. It is best to fill in responses across the page for each activity.  
(If you answer NO to participation in an activity, go on to the next activity).

ACTIVITY	I participate in this activity <u>YES</u> <u>NO</u>	Amount of time spent per week in hours	I hold an office or position in this activity. (If YES, name it. If NO, write NO.)	I have received an award, letter or some recognition in this activity. <u>YES</u> <u>NO</u>	I would rate my participation compared to others <u>HIGH</u> <u>MEDIUM</u> <u>LOW</u>
1. Students' Council					
2. Class Government (Pres., Rep. etc.)					
3. Stage Assistance					
4. Projection Assistance					
5. Newspaper					
6. Year Book					
7. Graduate Committee					
8. Religious Club (Visits, Liturgy, etc.)					
9. Tutoring					
10. Cafeteria Committee					
11. Reach for the Top					
12. Science Club					
13. Radio Club					
14. Hobby Club					
15. Band					
16. Public Speaking					
17. Dances (going to dances)					





(If you answer NO to participation in an activity, go on to the next activity).

I would rate my participation compared to others as

HIGH      MEDIUM      LOW

[illegible]

22. Basketball									
23. Fastball									
24. Volleyball									
25. Bowling									
26. Floor Hockey									
OTHER(Activities not listed above)									

OTHER (Activities not listed above)

[illegible]





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